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STUDIES IN THE FIRST FOLIO

WRITTEN FOR
THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION
IN CELEBRATION OF
THE FIRST FOLIO TERCENTENARY

*And read at Meetings of the Association held at
King's College, University of London
May-June, 1923*

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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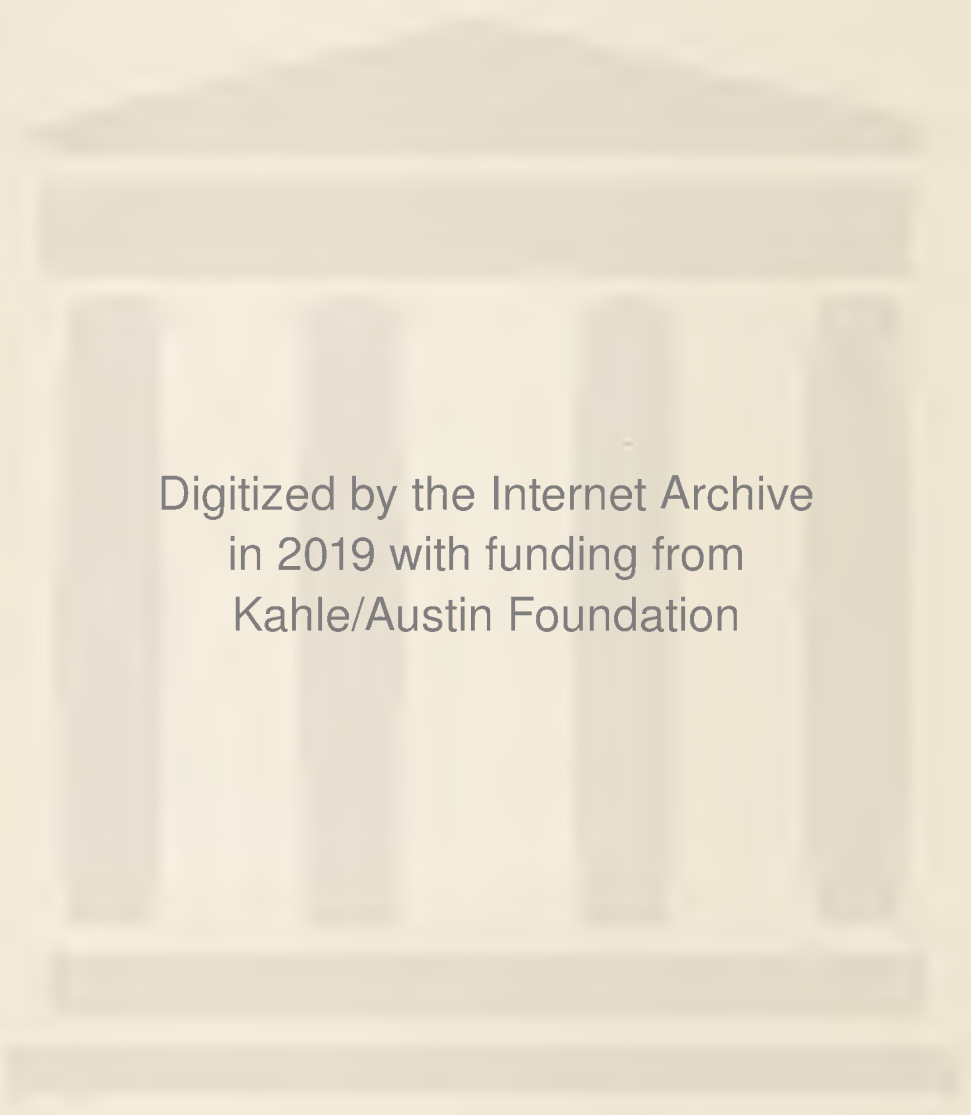
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION¹

LINKED through the centuries to the well-ordered guild life of medieval times, the City Companies stand forth triumphantly among the picturesque institutions of modern London, and against all iconoclasm vindicate their position, evincing their possibilities of adjustment to new developments. The mysteries and crafts they represent have changed in the processes of time, but in some way or other each of these historic foundations plays its part in connexion with its special function. So far as concerns the 'mystery' of all that appertains to the art and craft of the book, the Worshipful Company of Stationers has potently influenced the fortunes of English literature. Its registers, stretching back to 1554, may be regarded as the very log-books of the nation's enterprises on the vast ocean of intellectual endeavour during the periods of greatest achievement.

It is of interest to recall that students of English dramatic history are constantly brought into touch with the guild life of old England ; and there can

¹ Reprinted, with some necessary modifications, from the limited publication issued by the Worshipful Company of Stationers and the Shakespeare Association, 'In commemoration of the First Folio Tercentenary—a re-setting of the Preliminary Matter of the First Folio, with a Catalogue of Shakespeariana exhibited in the Hall of the Company', &c. (Humphrey Milford, 1923). Some of the papers in the present volume by leading scholars in their respective subjects amplify this summary survey, printed before the papers were read at the Meetings of the Association. It is reprinted to serve as a general introduction, and, at the same time, as a record of the conjoint efforts—so happily carried through—of the Association and the Stationers' Company on the occasion of the Tercentenary Commemoration.

be little doubt that these medieval unions, formed for mutual protection as for social and spiritual benefits, did much to develop the medieval drama on its religious as well as on its secular side. This is true of the drama of the Continent as of England during its formative period. One would like to know more of the early history of the Guild of Parish Clerks, licensed as a guild as far back as 1233, whose members played episodes from Holy Scripture yearly at Clerkenwell—the Fraternity of St. Nicholas, as it was called. The cyclic miracle plays afford the best record of the combined efforts of the several local guilds in the early phases of the new-born drama, each guild making itself responsible for some such section of Bible story as might most appropriately appertain to its particular craft. For example, the Book-binders or Parchmenters fittingly chose the popular Abraham and Isaac episode, not, as might be supposed, because Abraham ‘bound’ his son Isaac, but with more practical reference to the ram caught in the thicket by its horns—the ram whose skin provided the parchmener with livelihood. ‘Is not parchment made of sheep-skins?’ asked Hamlet. ‘Ay, my lord,’ answered Horatio, ‘and of calf-skins, too.’

Among the old guilds there were the Escriveners and Luminers, i.e. scribes and limners or illuminators of manuscripts; and as early as 1357 in the records of the City of London there is a reference to the Craft of Courthand and Text Writers and Scriveners, which craft was in 1403 empowered to elect wardens and make ordinances for its government. On the basis of this authorization, the Worshipful Company of Stationers in 1903 commemorated the five-hundredth anniversary of its foundation.

A stationer in early times was one who held a

regular station or shop for the sale of books. In the Middle Ages these booksellers had their stations chiefly at the universities, the books they sold being the recognized academic text-books of the day; the 'stationarius' was under licence by the authorities. They were in close touch with the scribes and limners. In London the first mention of the guild is as 'the mystery of scribes, limners and stationers' in the year 1417. The London 'stations' were no doubt about St. Paul's, and the text-limners were near at hand in Paternoster Row, Creed Lane, and Amen Corner.

When Caxton, of the Mercers' Company, introduced the newly discovered art of printing, the scribes and limners at first looked askance at the new mechanical process for the multiplication of books, a formidable rival to their own craft; and no doubt the stationers sympathized with their attitude. Later, however, the stationers found it profitable, as an old King's Printer puts it, 'to buye their bookes in grosse of the saide printers to bynde them vp and sell them in their shops whereby they well mayntayned their families'. And so the Company of Stationers of necessity widened its scope, and became a comprehensive organization of those who were concerned with book production and distribution.

With the easy diffusion of literature through the printing-press came the dangers of scandalous, malicious, and heretical writings; and it was to checkmate these very dangers that from the early years of the sixteenth century successive efforts were made by proclamations and statutes to bring the printing of books under Government control.

In 1556 Philip and Mary granted a charter of incorporation to the Master and Keepers or Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery or Art of a Stationer

of the City of London. Three years previously Queen Mary had prohibited the printing of books, ballads, rhymes, and interludes, without special licence. The object of the charter was to check heresy, and the Company was to be used as an instrument for this purpose. At the same time there can be no doubt that the charter enhanced the position of this brotherhood of stationers, and thereto may be referred much of its enhanced position during the spacious times of Elizabeth.

Although, as Professor A. W. Pollard has pointed out in a masterly sketch,¹ to which the reader is referred, 'throughout the reign of Elizabeth the control of the book trade by the ministers of the Crown was as nearly as possible complete', as evidenced by Injunctions and Orders in Council, yet 'the Stationers' Company from the outset, and for many years afterwards, acted as a licensing authority'. This position of the Company was to the advantage of printers and publishers, and in so far as the publishers were under ordinary conditions the agents of authors, to the authors themselves.

For the most part the licensing was carried through by the Master and Wardens; but the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London still exercised their power to give special authorization for the printing of a book, and could order an objectionable work to be publicly burnt. The place chosen for this penalty was the garden of the Stationers' Hall, which, originally in Milk Street, was in 1553 transferred to St. Peter's College, near the Deanery of St. Paul's, and later, in 1611, to its present site, then occupied by Abergavenny House, originally Pembroke's Inn, a name of almost pro-

¹ *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, 1917; new edition, 1920.

phetic significance. The Hall, rebuilt in 1654, was burned in the Great Fire. It was again rebuilt in 1670-4, additions being made in 1800 and 1886-7.

For our purpose, it may be well to supplement this brief note on the organization of book production and those concerned therewith in the Elizabethan Age by some reference to the attempts to organize that other force which moulded public opinion, namely the theatre and the players. The prejudice against the theatre was time-honoured, and had precedent in numberless ordinances of early Church Councils. In the Tudor period the Government aimed at checking the twofold dangers that might result from the uncontrolled drama, namely, political and religious heretical opinion on the one hand, and immorality on the other. It was necessary, therefore, for Government regulation to deal not only with players but also with plays. As regards the players, the various proclamations 'against vagabonds, ruffians and idle persons (including common players)'—in Queen Elizabeth's statute of 1572, 'common players in interludes'—clearly differentiated the unrecognized and ill-ordered bands of strolling players from those 'belonging to any Baron of the realm or to other honourable personage of greater degree'. The other great instrument of Government control was the censorship of plays, which still maintains itself to this day.¹ Whatever views may be taken on this latter method of control, there can be no doubt that the well-organized Elizabethan companies of players under noble patronage were for dramatic art as important an instrument as was the well-organized

¹ On the history of Government regulation see *Shakespeare's Theatre*, by Professor A. H. Thorndike, 1916, Ch. VIII and bibliography, and Chs. IX and X on the dramatic companies. Since the writing of this article Dr. E. K. Chambers's monumental work on *The Elizabethan Stage* has appeared, which deals comprehensively with this and other aspects of the problem.

Company of Stationers ; the former made possible the expression of the genius of the age through drama ; the latter, in spite of all shortcomings, safeguarded for posterity, through the printing-press, the great dramatic achievements of the age, which otherwise might well have been irretrievably lost. It is significant that both the theatre and the printing-press were under Government control ; further, that the Lord Chamberlain's Company, to which Shakespeare belonged, became, on the accession of King James, the King's Company.

While the City of London declined to allow a place for theatrical performances within its limits, the Stationers' Company was to some extent redressing the grievance by registering for publication the popular drama of the day ; and over and above all there was the favourable attitude of the Court and the nobles towards the theatre and dramatic art.

From the year 1554 to the present day, with a gap of five years from 1571 to 1576, the Registers of the Stationers' Company are intact. For our present purpose, we are mainly concerned with the volumes containing early entries of the plays of William Shakespeare. Thanks to the labours of the late Professor Arber, these volumes are available in an excellent transcript. The entries in question have been the subject of interest to all concerned with Shakespearian bibliography.

The first Shakespearian notice is significant. On April 18, 1593, Richard Field 'entered for his copy under the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Master Warden Stirrop a book intituled *Venus and Adonis*'. This was the 'first heir' of Shakespeare's invention, and the publisher, Richard Field, to whom the copyright belonged, was the fellow-countryman of the poet, a printer and stationer, who had come from Stratford-on-Avon to be appren-

ticed in London for seven years, from September 29, 1579. He was associated with many important literary enterprises. In the year 1592 he obtained licence for the first edition of Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*. To him was due the printing of Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy* in 1589. In 1595 he gave to the world the great edition of North's *Plutarch*, reprinted in 1603 and 1610-12, one of the most prized of Shakespeare's books. It was natural that Shakespeare should hand over to his Stratford friend the manuscript of the poem which was to place him among the great poets of his age, his first bid for poetic fame. Richard Field, however, does not figure thereafter in the Registers as entering any work of the great poet, and he soon handed over to Master Harrison his rights in *Venus and Adonis*. It was Harrison who secured the copyright in 1594 of *The Ravishment of Lucrece*.

The first entry of any Shakespearian play is that by John Danter, a publisher with no very good record, who in 1594 registered *The Noble Roman History of Titus Andronicus*, the first of the quartos recorded in the books. Until this quarto was by the merest chance found in Sweden less than twenty years ago, no copy was known to exist. It is now in the possession of Mr. Folger of New York.

From 1594 to 1623 there are some twenty-five entries dealing with quartos of plays. All of these entries find their place in Shakespearian bibliography, and, indeed, represent perhaps the most important evidence bearing on the fortunes of certain of Shakespeare's plays.

The poet had only an indirect concern in the publication of his plays; he wrote for his company, and to his company the plays belonged. Of the

quartos published some were good, some bad, some were secured legitimately, others purloined and surreptitious.

Some by stenography drew
The plot : put it in print (scarce one word true),—

a method of piracy that partly explains the First Quarto of *Hamlet* of 1603, though shorthand in this case seems to have been supplemented by authentic parts secured from minor actors on easy terms. It was this spurious *Hamlet* that called forth in 1604 a protest in the form of the genuine text, 'newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect copy'.

One cannot say at what date it occurred to any one that a complete collection of Shakespeare's plays should be brought together, or whether the poet, when he left London, the scene of his triumphs, for the quiet of Stratford, had in mind himself to undertake this task, with the concurrence or at the desire of his fellows. It would appear that in 1619 some attempt was made in this direction, for William Jaggard in that year published in one volume¹ nine plays, reprints, some of them with false dates. The detection of this manœuvre was a great feat of bibliographical science, due to the scholarship and acumen of Professor A. W. Pollard and Dr. W. W. Greg, the details of which are set forth in the former scholar's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos, a Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays*.

It is noteworthy that in 1616, the very year of Shakespeare's death, there appeared a great folio of Ben Jonson's 'Works' containing plays and masques,

¹ Only one contemporary bound copy now exists, in the possession of Mr. Folger ; see *Description of a Remarkable Volume, containing Nine Early Quarto Editions, &c.* : Bernard Quaritch, 1902.

a first instalment of his writings, and the ascription of the title ' Works ' to a volume of plays was a subject of pleasant banter at the time. It seems more than likely that this volume suggested the idea of a great Shakespeare Folio as a fitting monument to his memory, and as the choicest gift to lovers of his plays, which they had erewhile so often applauded as presented on the stage. Such an undertaking, however arduous, was not without chances of great profit. This, at all events, would have been a point of view that the printers and publishers could not well ignore. As we have noted, a number of plays had already been printed, and copyright was held by the various publishers in respect of these. A number, however, had escaped the press, and were still safeguarded by the rightful owners, the King's Company. To carry out the scheme of the Folio, it was necessary to bring about a combination of owners of copyrights in Quartos and the owners of the plays still in manuscript. It was, I think, hardly likely that the proposal for printing and publishing the Folio was made in the first instance by the King's Players ; it is much more probable that the initiative came from William Jaggard, who, as we see, had in 1619 been all too eager to give to the world a collection of some Shakespearian plays. In 1599 he had issued *The Passionate Pilgrim*, a small anthology equivocally Shakespeare's, and in 1612 had re-published it with additions ; according to Heywood, the author of these additions, the poet resented this procedure. Further, Jaggard had in 1615 secured the right of printing the player's bills. If the project of the First Folio, as seems most probable, was due to William Jaggard, the grateful commendation which he thereby merited should utterly dispel any adverse sentiments towards him.

Let us turn over the pages of the Registers until

8° November 1623. At 4.21.

Rever Jackson.

Conduct for 818 Dapier under the funds
at 2021 818 Dapier under the funds

I Mr. Birden of Brookhaven
A Day's exercise of Pique divided into

A Day's extract of "Pitre Dunder" into
4 parts viz Confession of Sinner: Thank

40 Ark. viny Confession of Sinners: Thank

quing Prayer Instruction written

John Edward and his wife into

Engländer, preußisch, für die autorität,

by means of fire-works

120 Feb 1624

Get for it be so much.
 and Mr. Dafford's glad is to get looks
 to Mr. Dafford's.

Dear Girls/Boys:

in beds for their Popul' under the lands

of m^r J. L. Worrall and m^r C. C.

warden. M^r William Shackleton Comdyts

Historicity & TradeDyts for name of the

Said Copits as above not formerly indebted to
other men. viz.

Other men. viz.:

* S. The Tempest.

The two gentlemen of Verona

Measure for Measure

St. Mary's College

Comedy's. As you like it

I wether might
The winters take

Historie.
The thirde parte of Henry y^e sixt
It enuy the eight

Coriolanus
Timon of Athens
Tragedies. Julius Caesar
Macbeth.
Anthony & Cleopatra
Cymbeline

11^o November

Nath. Newburre. Entered for his copie under the handes of
me & Do. Effraim and me & oldwarden Al^o }
Bookes called A sweet potie for gods saints
to smell on contrayninge manie sweete and
choise flowers.

Nath. Butte. Entered for his copie under the handes of
me & Cottingham and me & oldwarden Al^o }

Fig. 2. ENTRY OF FIRST FOLIO ON THE REGISTERS OF THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

we reach November 8, 1623. Under that date we find the following entry :

8^o Nouembris 1623.

Master Blounte Isaak Jaggard	Entred for their Copie vnder the hands of Master Doctor Worrall and Master Cole warden Master William Shakspeers Comedyes Histories & Tragedyes soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men. viz ^t . vij ^s
---------------------------------------	---

	¹ The Tempest
	The two gentlemen of Verona
	Measure for Measure
Comedyes.	The Comedy of Errors
	As you like it
	All's well that ends well
	Twelke night,
	The winters tale
Histories.	The thirde parte of Henry y ^e sixt
	Henry the eight
	Coriolanus
	Timon of Athens
Tragedies.	Julius Caesar
	Mackbeth
	Anthonie & Cleopatra
	Cymbeline

It should be noted that in this list of the plays 'not formerly entred to other men', the *Third Part of Henry VI*, as has been suggested, probably stands for *I Henry VI*, Parts II and III being represented formerly by the *First and Second Parts of the Contention*; *Antony and Cleopatra*, previously entered on the books by Blount, was evidently re-entered in view of share arrangements between him and Isaac Jaggard. Fifteen plays were, by this entry, licensed

¹ The letters G. S. added in the Register (see the facsimile of the entry) are evidently the initials of George Steevens (1736-1800), the commentator on Shakespeare.

W. H. H. H.

14th Dec September 1842.

At London out of the sum by Debit
of a Note for the sum of £100
of Francis Smithwick & Co. Ltd.
by Debit the Wardens all to be
of the night. The interest of the
to said Francis & Co. in the
to give the other following -
to the sum of £100, belonging to
of John Smithwick & Co. Ltd.
Dorothy & Co.

Hamlet, a play.
The sameing of a shew.
Romeo & Juliet
Loves Labour Lost.

Fig. 3. ENTRIES IN THE STATIONERS' COMPANY'S REGISTERS REFERRING TO HAMLET, ETC.

for the first time. The plays in the Folio not specially named were, in some form or other, already on the Register and therefore it was not necessary to enter them anew. The relation between the owners of these plays and Isaac Jaggard and Blount as publishers of the Folio was another matter.

Soon after November 8, 1623, appeared 'MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARES COMEDIES, HISTORIES, & TRAGEDIES. Published according to the True Originall Copies. LONDON: Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623.'

At the end of the book there is a further statement: '*Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623.*' On the title-page is the familiar engraving of Shakespeare by Martin Droeshout. Facing the portrait are lines to the Reader, signed B. I.¹ A dedication, 'To the most noble and incomparable pair of brethren, William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery', is signed 'John Heminge and Henry Condell', and is followed by an address 'to the great variety of readers', similarly signed. Commendatory verses follow, the best by Ben Jonson, 'To the memory of my beloved, the author Mr. William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us', the noblest of all panegyrics to Shakespeare, with its prophetic outburst,—

Triumph, my Britain, thou hast one to show
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time!

There are lines by Hugh Holland, Leonard Digges, and I. M.²; a list of the names of the principal actors in all the plays; and a catalogue of the several

¹ *i. e.* B. J., Ben Jonson.

² Probably James Mabbe, the Spanish scholar.

comedies, histories, and tragedies contained in the volume.¹

The catalogue names thirty-five plays in all, but the volume contains thirty-six. The ultimate inclusion of *Troilus and Cressida* (for the most part unpagged) in the volume and its omission from the catalogue can now be accounted for. The play of *Pericles*, of which an edition had appeared in 1609, a second in 1611, and a third in 1619, did not find a place in the Folio, though Blount had entered the book on May 20, 1608; and it is significant that none of the apocryphal plays of Shakespeare received recognition by inclusion in the volume, not even *The Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Sir John Oldcastle* assigned to Shakespeare among the nine plays reprinted for the 1619 collection.

It seems quite likely that the original plan was to issue the collection in three folio volumes. As for the number of copies printed, it is difficult to make any definite statement; the edition may well have exceeded five hundred. The published price was one pound. Sir Sidney Lee has, with indefatigable zeal, traced about two hundred copies, and of these not more than twenty are in a perfect state of preservation.² England and America have now an equal share of these treasured possessions. No book commands a higher price, and as much as nearly ten thousand pounds has been paid for a copy.

The text of the Folio was printed in double columns, roman and italic type being used, the pages ruled in the outer margins.

Certain First Folios have passed through strange

¹ The order of the pages varies.

² See *Facsimile Reproduction of the First Folio*, with Census of extant copies, and supplementary Census, by Sir Sidney Lee, Oxford, 1902, &c.; also, the same writer's *Life of Shakespeare*, 1922, from which, by kind permission, Fig. 5 is reproduced. To these leading sources must be added his contribution to this volume.

Edm. Brewster
Rob. Bird.

40 August 1622
Assigned over unto Edm. Bird, Andrew
and Douk of a full Court of
Mstrall hall & staks and el. tates }
and Andrew & Co. give one to: prairie }
for Edm. and Edm. 100 Doves }
after mentioned by 16 4

The history of Hen. the 8th and the play of the Juncos
Mr. Labret right in Shakespeare's plays or any of them
Mr John old castles a play.
Tybus & Andronicus
History of Hamlet

Fig. 4. ENTRIES IN THE STATIONERS' COMPANY'S REGISTERS REFERRING TO HAMLET, ETC.

vicissitudes of fortune. Perhaps the most striking story is that of the original Bodleian copy. Sir Thomas Bodley had an agreement with the Stationers' Company, in 1610, under which a copy of every book published by a member of the Company was sent to the Bodleian. Accordingly in 1623 the publishers of the First Folio sent a copy of the book in sheets to Oxford. It was bound by the Bodleian binder and chained. The young graduates took their delight in reading the plays, *Romeo and Juliet* being specially attractive. So all went well, until in 1663-4 the Third Folio appeared, and was added to the Library. Considering the First Folio a mere duplicate, or of less value, the authorities disposed of their copy; and it was lost sight of for over a century and a half. During all this time it had been in the possession of a Derbyshire family. In 1906 it was happily secured again for its old home, at the price of £3,000.¹

William Jaggard, printer and publisher, the first of the four at whose charges the Folio was printed, dwelt at the Half-Eagle and Key, Barbican, whither he had moved from St. Dunstan's Churchyard in 1608. It is hardly likely that he was alive on the date of publication, for his will was proved on November 17, 1623. But there exists a copy of the First Folio, the well-known Sibthorp copy, now in America, containing the following inscription, in the handwriting of Augustine Vincent, the Herald:

Ex dono Willelmi Jaggard Typographi. a.^o 1623

Fig. 5.

The volume may have been sent by Jaggard's executors in discharge of a promise made by him.

¹ See *The Original Bodleian Copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare*: Oxford, 1905.

I more than euer grieue thewes much of Loue,
But much of griefe, she wes still some want of wit.
Jul. Yet let me weepe, for such a feeling losse.
Lad. So shall you feele the losse, but not the Friend
Which you weepe for.

Jul. Feeling to the losse,

I cannot chuse but euer weepe the Friend.

La. Well Girle, thou weep'st not so much for his death,
As that the Villaine liues which slaughter'd him.

Jul. What Villaine, Madam?

Lad. That same Villaine *Romeo*.

Jul. Villaine and he, be many Miles assunder:
God pardon, I'dde with all my heart:

And yet no man like he, doth griene my heart.

Lad. That is because the Traitor liues.

Jul. I Madam from the reach of these my hands:
Would none but I might venge my Cozins death.

Lad. We will haue vengeance for it, feare thou not.

Then weepe no more, Ile send to one in *Mantua*,

Where that same banisht Run-agate doth liue,

Shall giue him such an vnaccustom'd dram,

That he shall soone keepe *Tybalt's* company:

And then I hope thou wilt be satisfied.

Do ebbe and flow with teares, He Barke thy body it
Saying in this salt floud, the windes thy fighes,
Who raging with the teares and they with them,
Without a sudden calme will ouer set
Thy tempest tossed body: How now wife,
Haua you deliuered to her our decree?

Lady. I sir;

But she will none, she giues you thanks,
I would the foole were married to her graue.

Cap. Soft, take me with you, take me with you wife,
How, will she none? doth she not giue vs thanks?

Is she not proud? doth she not count her blest,

Vnworthy as she is, that we haue wrought

So worthy a Gentleman, to be her Bridegroome

Jul. Not proud you haue,

But thankfull that you haue:

Proud can I neuer be of what I haue,

But thankfull euen for hate, that is meant to out.

Cap. How now?

How now? Chopt Logicke? what is this?

Proud, and I thanke you: and I thanke you not.

Thank me no thanking, for proud me no prouids,

But fertile your fine ioinrs gainst Thursday next,

The cover of this Folio, the history of which was for the first time unravelled by Sir Sidney Lee, still shows the crest of Vincent, with the significant motto 'Augusta Vincenti', 'proud things to the conqueror'. The book was obviously commemorative of the triumphant victory in 1622 of Jaggard and Vincent over Ralph Brooke, another Herald, who had attacked Camden, the great antiquary, and incidentally Jaggard as printer.

Isaac Jaggard, William Jaggard's son, was evidently entrusted with the printing of the Folio. On the title-page he is named, with Edward Blount, as joint printer; and to these two the licence for publication was granted. Blount's name appears also in the colophon as one of the group at whose charges the book was printed.

Blount was a well-known stationer, interested in literature. He had been the friend and admirer of Christopher Marlowe. His share in the venture was evidently a large one, and we have already noted that *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra* had been previously entered to him, though the former play was subsequently pirated. He was a scholar, too. In the field of publication perhaps his most noteworthy earlier achievements had been his issue in 1603 of Florio's translation of *Montaigne's Essays*, and in 1620 of Shelton's first English translation of *Don Quixote*.

Smithweeke, another of those responsible for the charges, and therefore having a stake in the venture, held the copyrights of *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, or rather the older play of *The Taming of a Shrew*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*, all of which had been transferred to him in 1607 from Nicholas Ling. He had been for a time the partner of John Jaggard, William Jaggard's brother. His address was 'under the Dial in

St. Dunstan's Churchyard'. He ultimately became Master of the Stationers' Company in 1639.

The fourth of those who bore the charges, William Aspley, was the joint publisher with Andrew Wise of *Much Ado about Nothing* and *The Second Part of Henry IV*, and had probably helped in securing *Richard II* and *The First Part of Henry IV*, and possibly *Richard III*. He succeeded John Smithweeke as Master, and died during his year of office, in 1640.¹

Martin Droeshout, the engraver of the portrait on the title-page, came of a Netherlandish family, belonging to the Dutch colony in London. He was a young man of about twenty-one when the task was entrusted to him of engraving the figure of Shakespeare, which still remains, in spite of all criticism, the most authentic portrait we possess. Fortunately, three copies of the print exist in an earlier state than that generally found in the First Folios. One of these three, in the possession of Mr. Folger, of New York, was first reproduced in the *Book of Homage* of 1916.² A second, in the Bodleian Library, formed the frontispiece to the catalogue of the Bodleian Shakespeare Exhibition in the same year. By a happy chance, through the generosity of an anonymous donor, the Trustees of the British Museum were able to secure in 1922 for the nation a First Folio with the engraving in an early state. It was fittingly reproduced, with a re-setting of the preliminary matter of the First Folio, on the occasion of the First Folio Tercentenary.³ Mr. M. H. Spiel-

¹ On English printers and booksellers of the period, see *Dictionary of English Printers, &c.*, 1555-1640 (*Bibliographical Society*), 1910; *Short History of English Printing*, 1476-1900, H. R. Plomer, 1915.

² *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, ed. Israel Gollancz, Oxford University Press, 1916.

³ In the publication referred to in first note to this General Introduction. See Plate 27 *infra*.

mann, who has devoted many years to the subject, contributed to the *Book of Homage* a noteworthy study of 'This Figure, that thou here seest put', and the present volume contains a fuller essay on the subject, which I feel sure will be regarded far and wide as a masterly exposition of the many subtle problems and vexed questions involved in this fascinating theme.

At the head of the King's Company were Shakespeare's fellows and good friends, John Heminge and Henry Condell. To them, as to Richard Burbage, the poet had bequeathed 26s. 8d. apiece for memorial rings. Richard Burbage, 'alter Roscius,' as Camden calls him, had passed away in 1619; upon Heminge and Condell then devolved the leadership of the Company. In their dedication to the 'incomparable pair of brethren' they modestly claim that they have but collected the plays, 'and done an office to the dead to procure his orphans guardians, without ambition either of self-profit or fame, only to keep the memory of so worthy a Friend and Fellow alive as was our SHAKESPEARE'. They further state that their lordships had prosecuted both these plays and their author living with much favour.

In their Address to the Readers occurs the much-discussed passage in which they allude to 'divers stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors', and state that they 'have scarce received from him a blot in his papers'.

There is no reason to doubt any of the statements to which Heminge and Condell set their hands. Good evidence exists that the Earl of Pembroke and his brother had shown favour to the dramatist and his work; and quite recently Mr. R. Crompton Rhodes has drawn renewed attention to a document

printed by Malone, attesting their zeal, as successive holders of the office of Lord Chamberlain, on behalf of the King's Players in respect of the printing of plays. The Warrant, addressed to the Stationers' Company, is dated June 10, 1637, with an interesting preamble, in which Philip, who had succeeded his brother as Earl of Pembroke and Lord Chamberlain, referred to his 'dear brother and predecessor', as having issued a former ordinance bearing on the grievance of the King's Players in this very matter of corrupt copies of their plays.¹

When Heminge and Condell state that they had scarce received from Shakespeare a blot in his papers, we need not doubt that they actually had the author's own manuscripts of certain of his plays; and although it may be proved that use was made of some of the existing quartos, this does not falsify their claim. The truth of Heminge and Condell's statement that stolen and surreptitious copies had been put on the market is amply attested by extant versions of certain plays.²

In Ben Jonson's *Timber, or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*, first published in 1641, there is a passage that seems almost a comment on Heminge and Condell's statement in their preface. 'I remember', he wrote, 'the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been "Would he had blotted a thousand"', which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify my own candour, for I loved the man, and

¹ *Times Literary Supplement*, March 22, 1923.

² On the subject see *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, A. W. Pollard, 1909.

do honour his memory on this side idolatry, as much as any.' The whole passage should be read, for it is perhaps the most intimate of personal contemporary references to the poet.¹

The actor-editors of the First Folio, Heminge and Condell, both lived in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, the former dying in 1630, the latter in 1627. They were coming to the end of their activity at the time of the publication of the First Folio. The friendship between them must have been of the closest, even as they were professionally linked together by their interests in the King's Company and their shares in the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres. Of Heminge's many children only one, his ninth child, William, became known, and it is of interest that he won fame as poet and dramatist. Two of his plays are extant, and one of them at least shows marked Shakespearian influence. We now know him as author of the *Elegy on Randolph's Finger*, which contains the well-known lines 'On the Time Poets'.² In the biography of William Heminge it is pointed out that he was 'educated at Westminster School, whence in 1621 he was elected a King's Scholar at Christ Church, Oxford. He did not matriculate till 1624, but graduated B.A. in 1625.' The seemingly strange academic irregularity makes one think :

Did schoolboy Heminges help his sire to edit,
And does to him perchance belong some credit ?
Was it for this his studies had to wait ?
Three years it took him to matriculate.³

¹ See *Timber* by Ben Jonson, ed. I. Gollancz, 'Temple Classics', 1898.

² *William Hemminge's Elegy on Randolph's Finger*, with Introduction and Notes by Professor G. C. Moore Smith: Blackwell, 1923.

³ From lines, unprinted, addressed to Professor Moore Smith, on the afore-mentioned volume.

We now know that Shakespeare's first editors were not without recognition in their day. A year or so ago the present writer fortunately lighted upon some contemporary lines in a manuscript secured for the National Library of Wales by Mr. John Ballinger, its zealous librarian.

The lines modernized read as follows :

To my good friends Mr. John Hemings & Henry Condall :

To you that jointly, with undaunted pains,
 Vouchsafed to chant to us these noble strains,
 How much you merit by it is not said,
 But you have pleased the living, loved the dead ;
 Raised from the womb of earth a richer mine
 Than Cortes could with all his Casteline ¹
 Associates ; they did but dig for gold,
 But you for treasure much more manifold.

This tribute indicates the attitude of some of their contemporaries towards them ; and it was by happiest chance that the lines, written three hundred years ago, were discovered at the most opportune time. Their preservation is of no little interest. The manuscript in which they occur is a family miscellany belonging to the famous Welsh family of Salisbury, of Llewenny, and the eulogy was evidently written by a member of the family at the time of the publication of the Folio, for the previous page contains entries belonging to the year 1622. Shakespearian students are familiar with the name of Sir John Salisbury, in whose honour Shakespeare's *Phoenix and Turtle* was published in 1601, among other pieces by various authors added to Robert Chester's quaint poem, entitled *Love's Martyr*. Certain manuscripts of Sir John Salisbury are at Oxford. The volume now in the National Library of Wales contains plays and

¹ Casteline = Castilian. There is no punctuation in the MS. ; it seems that 'Casteline' is an adjective qualifying 'Associates', although this spoils the rhyming couplet at the end.

To my good friends Mr John Hemings & Henry
 Condeall
 To w^h I testify wth the undaunted purposes
 I have engaged to Chaunce to these noble persons of
 how much I am indebted to it - I am not free to
 but you have spoken to me of Grand
 May I be proud of a number of such a number of you
 When I am big enough to all his Cattle
 All right they say I am not big for Condeall
 But I am for to be first in the world

Fig. 7. CONTEMPORARY LINES IN PRAISE OF HEMINGS AND CONDELL
 (SALISBURY MS., NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES).

poems by Sir Thomas Salisbury, the grandson of Sir John, among a number of miscellaneous items ; and though the lines in question cannot be definitely assigned, they afford a fascinating link between Shakespeare and his 'fellows' on the one hand, and the various generations of the Salisbury family on the other. It is clear that the family took a pride in their association with Shakespeare, and maintained their active interest in drama. Sir John Salisbury, it should be noted, was brother-in-law of Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby, patron of the company of players known as Lord Strange's Company, subsequently merged in the Lord Chamberlain's Company, to which Shakespeare himself belonged. Sir John died in 1612. It seems likely that the author of the lines was his eldest son, Sir Henry, the father of Sir Thomas, who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1607 and who may well have known and 'loved the dead', seeing that he hailed as his good friends Shakespeare's closest associates, by whose zeal the greatest of all monuments had been raised to his memory. As one turns over the leaves of this Salisbury manuscript, reminiscences from Shakespeare frequently arrest one, especially in the hitherto unprinted plays and poems of Sir Thomas Salisbury, so far known to us only as the author of a rare poem, *The History of Joseph*, printed at London, 1636. In 1623 he was but a young boy.¹

It is not possible, even briefly, to summarize the problems of the text of the various plays in the First Folio. The subject has been dealt with by generations of scholars, but only in our own time have the investigations attained to the rank of scientific and exact scholarship. Bibliography in relation to litera-

¹ See 'Contemporary Lines on Heminges and Condell', by Sir I. Gollancz, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Jan. 26, 1922.

ture has in recent years, in the field of Shakespearian investigation, attained great triumphs, and, freed from mere empiricism, has before it a rich future of discovery. For these investigations nothing is too small and nothing too great. One jot or tittle is not allowed to pass without strictest scrutiny. The duration of a watermark reveals secrets ; type and printer's device provide the necessary evidence in astute work of detection. And so our knowledge grows apace. In this brief tribute to the first editors of the Folio it is only possible to refer to the chief contributions to this study by the leading scholars of our day. This study of the word and the letter has by no means retarded but has rather quickened the interpretation of the spirit of the master-dramatist whose work we mainly know through the pious zeal of his fellows, John Heminge and Henry Condell, and those associated with them in the great enterprise of the publication of the First Folio.

Since ' Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies ' were entered on the books of the Stationers' Company on November 8, 1623, and published soon after, followed in 1632 by the amended Second Edition, in 1663 by the Third, a reprint of the Second (with a second issue in 1664, giving seven additional plays, including *Pericles*, the only one of the seven even partly written by Shakespeare), and in 1685 by the Fourth, a modernization of the Third Folio, there have been some two hundred separate editions of the plays, while the issues of separate plays must be ten times that number, to say nothing of the separate issues of the poems. Meanwhile, Shakespeare's myriad-minded genius is becoming more and more widely known throughout the world, and there is hardly a civilized country where at least some play or other has not yet been rendered in native speech. Diffi-

culties of idiom, environment, situations, manners, and customs, are all overcome and the glorious humanity of the dramatist becomes interpreted to peoples and lands unknown in his time. A Survey of Shakespeare with special reference to the various renderings in the different languages is being fittingly inaugurated by the Shakespeare Association as a contribution towards the present Tercentenary Celebration. While we are commemorating the Tercentenary of the publication of this great book, and are tracing its record of peaceful triumph throughout the world, we may perhaps aptly recall the words spoken by one of the dramatist's own characters, unconscious of their future application :

How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In states unborn and accents yet unknown !

I. G.

SHAKESPEARE'S PORTRAITURE

PREFATORY NOTE

THE occasion and purpose which this Lecture was designed to serve naturally preclude consideration of the subject in the more extended form necessary for exhaustive exposition. Yet for the general reader it is perhaps full enough. It is presented here as it was delivered, but with a number of emendations, additions, and notes which seemed to be desirable.

Cordial thanks are expressed to Mr. H. C. Folger, Mr. Beatson Blair, Sir James R. Fergusson, Bart., Dr. William Martin, Mr. Frederick W. MacMonnies, and Professor Charles J. Allen ; to Bodley's Librarian, the Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, the Committees of the Manchester Corporation Art Gallery and the Shakespeare Memorial at Stratford-on-Avon, for authority to reproduce works pictured in the following pages. I am also indebted for further gracious permissions to the late Lady Guendolen Ramsden, the late Earl of Warwick, and the late Dr. Ralph W. Leftwich.

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M. H. S.

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SHAKESPEARE'S PORTRAITURE :

The Title-Page : The Droeshout Print, the Stratford Bust, and Allied Portraits

I

THE mystery that veils so much in Shakespeare's genius, life, and work involves also some aspects of his Iconography. It is probable that of Shakespeare more portraits have been painted, drawn, engraved, and modelled, than of any other uncrowned king of men. Four thousand different possible ways of spelling his name have been classified and published ;¹ the likenesses of him—in all methods of artistic expression—have been conceived on a proportionately lavish scale. The British Museum, it is true, according to its Catalogue, has only about 200 engraved portraits of the poet ; the Grolier Club of New York, at its Tercentenary Exhibition in 1916, did better with about 450—including fifty each of the Bust and the Droeshout Plate. Many of us, no doubt, could have added scores to these, and I could have rounded them off with a collection of medals and token-coinage of Shakespeare, variants included, numbering well over 200.

And yet, of all these presentments only two portraits of the Poet can be regarded as authentic—as carrying the authority and the approval of his friends, relations, and fellow workers. That greatly simplifies the problem. Yet neither is directly a life-portrait ;

¹ G. Wise, *The Autograph of William Shakespeare*, Philadelphia, 1869, 8vo.

and, as these two differ in certain minor, yet not unimportant points, the way has been thrown open to interminable controversy, to resistance—even to violent hostility. No doubt this is due to misapprehension by persons indifferently versed in matters of Iconography. Yet there is a touch of irony about it, that one or other of the only two authentic portraits should be attacked, on occasion, even by certain of the orthodox, with almost as much virulence as misunderstanding, while other portraits, quite without claim to respect, are freely accepted, meekly, abjectly, by the credulous.

The approximation of the two portraits, alike in respect of authenticity, and, in the main, of identity as regards actual bony structure—for herein they support and complement one another—compels me to take them together. It is not possible to confine oneself to Martin Droeshout's print on the title-page of the First Folio. And as the Stratford Bust, set within its monument, came first in order of production, I take it first—as introduction to the Print by Droeshout. On this special occasion—seeing that I am addressing myself to a body of students of Shakespeare—I go more deeply into detail and into exposition than might otherwise be desirable; wherefore this Address becomes perhaps less of a Lecture and more of a Demonstration.

The passion to know what manner of man Shakespeare really was gave rise, a generation or more ago, to a demand¹ put forward on both sides of the Atlantic that his deep grave should be opened and his remains exhumed—in order that it might be decided whether in the Bust or in the Print, or in both, we

¹ It was started, or re-started, by C. M. Ingleby, LL.D., V.-P., R.S.L., life trustee of Shakespeare's Birth-place and New Place, in his tract entitled *Shakespeare's Bones*, 1883 (12 + 48 pp.). There was a forlorn attempt to revive the agitation four years ago.

had the true likeness of the poet—(for bodies have been dug up from the damp soil of Stratford and after very many years have been found to have suffered little change).

A howl of protest was raised both in America and here at the proposed sacrilege. And yet the proposal was not by any means a novel one. In 1774, King Edward I—'Longshanks'—who had been buried 470 years, was exhumed by the Society of Antiquaries, and the King's waxed face and hands were found entire. Schiller's bones had been identified and collected from the bone-house in 1827, and the skull carried backwards and forwards and placed on exhibition. And nobody cried 'Shame!' In 1833 Raphael's tomb was opened, for identification, a cast taken of his skull and hands, and the skeleton publicly exhibited in a glass case. People tolerated even that. In 1813, during the regency of Prince George, the coffin of Charles I was opened, and the tragic head was found in a condition not very different from life, or rather, very recent death. At the same time that of Henry VIII—found battered—was opened, and a sketch was made of him. Some may remember George Cruikshank's bitter caricature on the double event which he used as a spiked bludgeon wherewith to awaken the dormant conscience of the Prince Regent, not by reason of his reckless dissipation, but because he had permitted the tampering with the Royal Dead. Swedenborg's skull was taken and cast, in 1819, and that of Burns in 1834. And so on. But none dared, even if he would, face Shakespeare's Curse—that terribly deterrent piece of effective doggerel, which certainly was intended to play upon what the author of it knew to be the character and sentiment of the people. For he himself had had the opportunity of looking—with horror at the scandal which was there revealed—into the charnel-house

of Stratford Church. The superstructure of this subterranean bone-house was razed in 1800, but the underground portion of it, with all the bones through long years pitched anyhow into it, still exists outside the north wall of the church, and within a yard or two of Shakespeare's monument.

No man has dared to 'digg' the Poet's 'dvst'. In order to circumvent the Curse,—

—AND CVRST BE *HE* ^TY MOVES MY BONES—

it was ingeniously suggested that *women* should undertake the operation. But the proposal happily came to nothing, whether or not women could have been found who would risk the awful malediction and damnation of a Shakespeare's Curse.

Chronologically, then, the first place is here taken by the monument and its effigy erected in the north wall of the chancel—by way of introduction to Droeshout of the Folios.

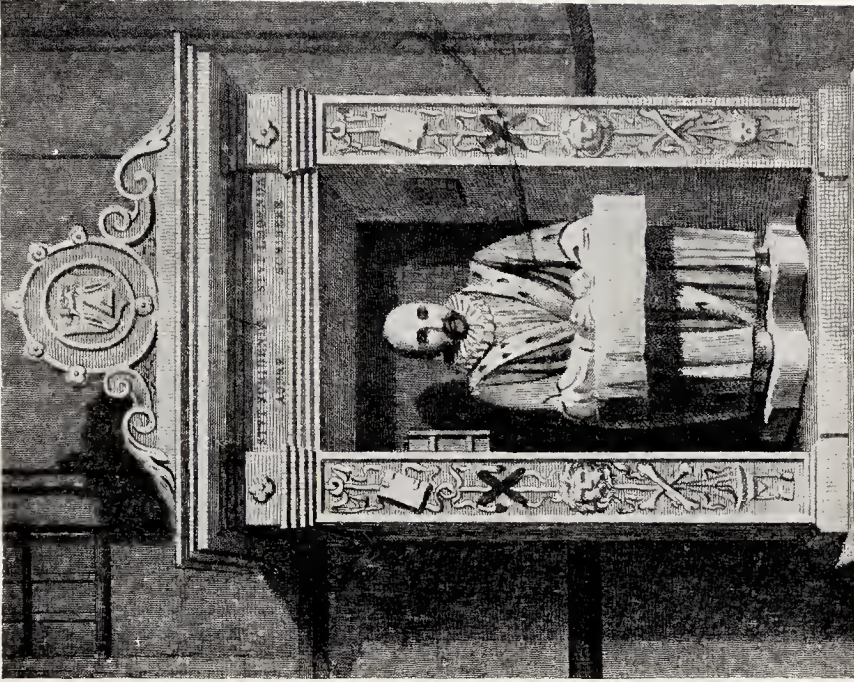
Of course, the design of a bust, really a half-length statue, set in its niche—especially in the case of a writing-man at his occupation—was in its way almost a hackneyed form of sepulchral monument—almost a *cliché*. For example, you will remember the monument of the chronicler, John Stow (Plate 1), set up by his widow in St. Andrew Undershaft in the City, in 1605, from twelve to seventeen years before Shakespeare's was erected in Stratford-upon-Avon. We see him writing. Nearly one hundred years before, that of Dean Colet of St. Paul's—seated in a niche with his hands before him on a book—was erected in Old St. Paul's; while there, also, was the not dissimilar monument of Alexander Nowell, Dean forty years later, done in 1601, with the hands upon just such a cushion before him; and others are to be found about the country, in Canterbury Cathedral

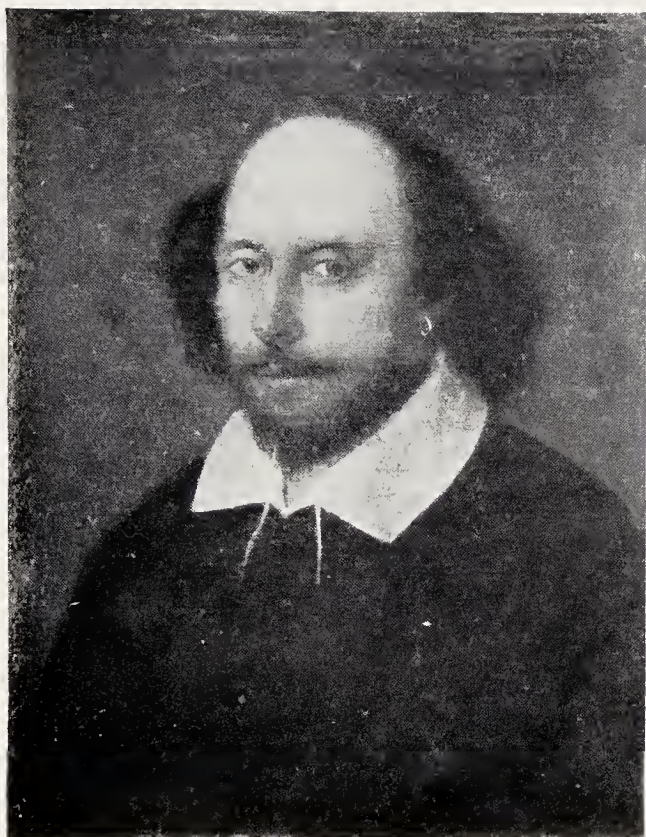


The JOHN STOW MONUMENT
in St. Andrew Undershaft, London

From a Photograph

Engraved by C. Pye from a drawing by J. P. Neale, 1815





The CHANDOS PORTRAIT
In the National Portrait Gallery
(Copyright of Emery Walker)



The CHANDOS PORTRAIT
as engraved by Antonio Locatelli, 1822



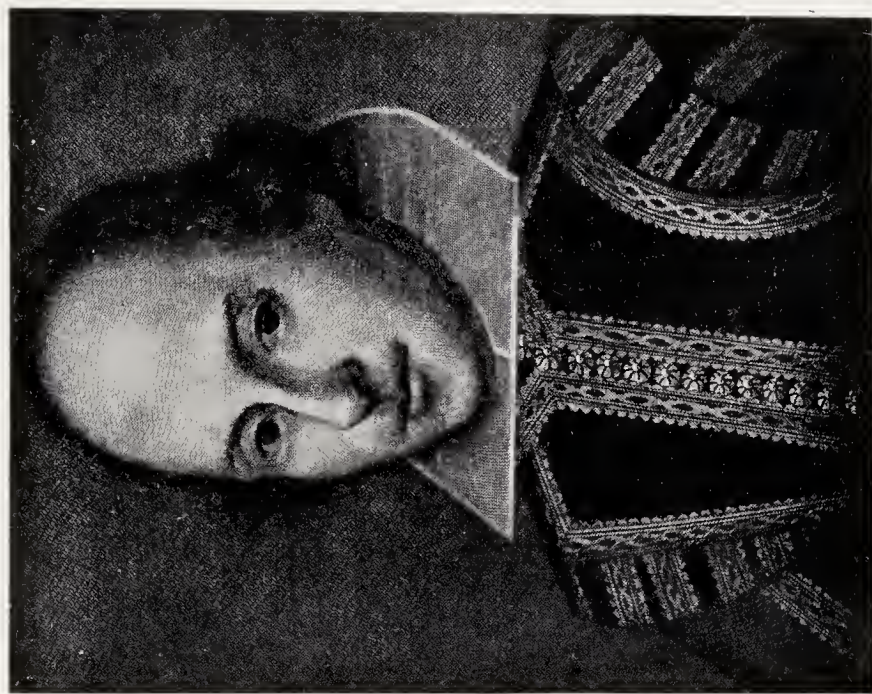
The Original Painting by JANSSEN
(By permission of the late Lady Helen Guendolen Ramsden
and the late Sir John Ramsden)
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The JANSSEN PORTRAIT
as engraved by R. Dunkarton, 1811



As it is



The FELTON PORTRAIT

As engraved by T. Trotter, 1794
imitating the Dreshout Print
by order of W. Richardson

and elsewhere. They are all based on much earlier examples of analogous portraiture, such for example as Botticelli's painting, of 1480, in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, showing St. Augustine seated in a niche, writing, quill in hand (very like the Stow monument); and the portrait of Bishop Stokesley, at Windsor, wrongly attributed to Holbein, but painted before 1533; and numerous others that might be quoted.

In view of the argument which I am about to develop, I ask you to observe Stow's head—and then the head which the engraver Pye, in collusion with the draughtsman Neale, made of it only 100 years ago—to say nothing of the ermine, gratuitously thrown in. And yet these artists were in London and could easily have secured correctness had they wished. It illustrates engravers' disloyal indifference to accuracy, until the advent of photography brought truth along with it, and swept the fraudulent draughtsman and engraver from the field.

There is interest in one or two more apposite examples. Take the Chandos portrait (Plate 2) and note well this apparently swarthy alien. And then the famous engraver Locatelli's rendering of the picture—a rather startling caricature.

Or take the beautiful original Cornelis Janssen painting called 'of Shakespeare', belonging to the Ramsden family (Plate 3), and compare with it Dunkarton's engraved representation of it, wherein the resemblance lies only in the collar.

And yet again: the high-shouldered Felton portrait (Plate 4)—which belonged to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts—at the recent sale so amusingly paid for in the sum of £1,522 for America. Trotter's engraving audaciously sets it on the Droeshout low shoulders and doubled body of the Droeshout print.

Is not all this sufficient proof that publishers and engravers, down to the early nineteenth century, cared nothing for truth of rendering, unless circumstances compelled?

As with all of these, so with the Stratford Monument and Bust.

After 1616, but not later than 1622, the Stratford Monument (Plate 5), of a design kindred to those already mentioned, was erected—it is assumed, but without any positive evidence—to the order of Shakespeare's son-in-law, Dr. John Hall. In any case, it must have had the approval of Mistress Shakespeare and her family, and have received and withstood the criticism of Shakespeare's friends and associates. According to Sir William Dugdale it was the work of Garratt Janssen or Johnson, the Anglo-Flemish tomb-maker of Southwark, whose father had been resident in London since 1567.

In style it is a work of the pure Jacobean Renaissance and manifestly of the time. It has beauty of design, and is characteristic alike in detail and proportion—an harmonious and compact whole.

The mantling about the shield is contemporary in style, and the whole exactly what we are accustomed to find from the tomb-makers of the period, among whom Nicholas Stone, working in conjunction with Bernard Janssen—probably a kinsman of Garratt—is a noteworthy example. The same details reappear constantly in their work, both Bernard's and Garratt's, in a whole series of tombs and monuments, and we need go no farther than to the Charterhouse and look there at the tomb of the pious founder, Thomas Sutton, to recognize that such details, both architectural and sculptural, were, as it were, stereotyped in the work of these leaders of their craft—stock designs used by the three men.

A noteworthy feature is the cherub-like boys



The SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT
Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon



THE STRATFORD MONUMENT
(Seventeenth-Century Work)

The Upper Section showing the Boys with their Attributes

(Plate 6) who sit up aloft. It is important to note that these little figures, unfinished at the back, are carved *in one piece with the little mounds* on which they sit—the one on the left holds a spade, the other an inverted, extinguished torch, one hand resting upon a skull—intended to represent Labour and Rest—not symbols of mortality, as one would suppose. This ancient piece of classic symbolism is frequently to be seen in the work of Stone and others. These figures, which I have examined closely on the several occasions on which I have been permitted to go up and take measurements of the work in its many details, are quite manifestly early seventeenth-century work; they not only bear the impress of the sentiment of the time, but their surface and texture bring further witness. They are not attached to the monument, but are movable. The material of which the monument is composed is white marble, with black touchstone inlaid in slabs, and beneath there is the support of the usual alabaster brackets—that is to say, the two outside brackets are of alabaster, the middle one, replacing an original now lost, is badly painted in imitation of alabaster. It was, of course, to this monument that the very minor poet, Leonard Digges, alluded when to the First Folio he contributed his awkward but very sincere and honest verses of homage comprised in the oft-quoted lines beginning :

Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellowes giue
 The world thy Workes : thy Workes, by which, out-liue
 Thy Tombe, thy name must : when that stone is rent,
 And Time dissolues thy Stratford Moniment,
 Here we aliue shall view thee still. This Booke,
 When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee looke
 Fresh to all Ages : when Posteritie
 Shall loath what 's new, thinke all is prodegie
 That is not Shake-speares.

This sentiment was not infrequently expressed in epitaphs on men of letters. For example, the epitaph on Drayton's tomb in Westminster Abbey (attributed alike to Quarles and Ben Jonson) invokes the ' pious marble ' of his monument :

And when thy ruins shall disclaim
To be the treasure of his name,—
His name that cannot fade, shall be
An everlasting monument to thee.

In looking at the bust, we must bear in mind that the large majority of casts which we find about are not casts from the original at all—not even the one in the National Portrait Gallery—although at first glance they look very like it—but from copies which depart more or less gravely from Janssen's work ; and that many of the ' Engravings from the Bust ' are done from these inaccurate copies. Criticisms levelled at the bust have been frequently based upon examination of these misleading casts. Here, then, is the portrait of Shakespeare given us by his family, and approved necessarily by Mistress Shakespeare (who lived just long enough to see the First Folio itself) and by the poet's friends and fellow-townsmen who knew him well. This bust, like the figure of Shakespeare's friend, John Combe, who lies close by (the tomb having been made also by Garratt Janssen), is of limestone from the neighbourhood of Stroud—a soft stone in common use when the sculpture was to be coloured. It is therefore intentionally lacking in modelling, because the colour would be left to do its work—the eyebrows so lightly chiselled that they hardly suggest the hair ; and in the open mouth the teeth without divisions, in one band, which is painted white. For if such a bust were fully modelled, and then painted, and the division of the teeth clearly marked, it would look

more like a waxwork, and lose that breadth and gravely monumental aspect of treatment which are proper to a sepulchral work.

No one with a close and familiar understanding of sculpture will say that it is eighteenth-century work, except as regards some unimportant repairs hardly to be identified. It not only corresponds exactly with the treatment of the features in the head of Combe, it reveals not only the same sculptor's hand—but it shows the same costume. It has generally been asserted by the technical expert that it was modelled direct from a mask, taken from the subject. Chantrey (who was as great an admirer of the bust as were Malone, Landor, Washington Irving, Matthew Arnold,¹ and Mr. Arthur Benson of to-day) believed it to be from a death-mask, for the reason that the raised lip shows a contraction of muscle which suggests the *rigor mortis*—as if any sculptor, however unskilful, would be fool enough deliberately to introduce into a bust, purporting to represent a living, and obviously a robust and humorous-minded man, a corpse's rigidity! The fact is that the muscle may be contracted quite as much in life under the unpleasant experience of a mask being taken—when warm wax or cold wet plaster is poured over the face, with breathing-straws thrust into the nostrils, and perhaps a breathing-tube between the lips. This was also the opinion of Sir Thomas Brock, who took life-masks in his day as well as death-masks. The curious, and at first sight stupid, aspect of the bust arises from more than one fact. In the first place, the eyes and nose, inter-relatively, and proportionately, are too small for the face. From close and careful examination I maintain that there is no foundation for the suggestion, frequently

¹ . . . Thou smilest and art still,
Out-topping knowledge.

printed, that from the nose a piece had at some time been broken off, and repaired, to make the best of a bad job, by carving it down to a smaller scale. But even were this the case, the eyes would still be too close together. There is not the slightest evidence of breakage, or of recarving of the nose or nostrils : on the contrary, the evidence of the bust is against it. The open lids of the eyes have been modelled coarsely—eyes are closed when a mask is taken, and they have to be modelled up afterwards—the lips are straight and open, indicating, according to the taste of some, ‘the agony of death’, and according to that of others, ‘the hilarity of a mighty humorist’: it all depends on whether they are adherents of the death-mask-theory or of the life-mask-theory, according as their fancy dictates.

The upper lip which has puzzled so many by its appearance of inordinate depth—comparable, it was said, to that of Liston and Walter Scott—is in fact *not long at all*. It is three-quarters of an inch full and seven-eighths bare from the septum of the nose to the lip—practically the length of my own upper lip. This so amazed me when I was transcribing my notes at the hotel that I went back to the church, re-mounted the scaffolding, and took the measurement afresh ; but with the same result. The fact remained a puzzling one until a thought struck me. Returned to the hotel I procured a cork, and having burned it, I corked upon my lip just such a moustache as that on the Stratford bust—in style a fashion said to be not uncommon though by no means general at the time—(as in the portrait of Shakespeare’s contemporary, Maurice Prince of Orange, Plate 7). I was very careful to leave the proper space of bare flesh between the nose and the moustache and again above the lip itself (*à la* Richard Baxter, 1615), and I was startled—not to say



MAURICE PRINCE OF ORANGE, 1567-1625

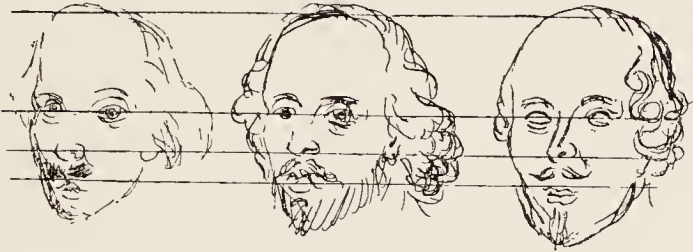
To illustrate the fashion of wearing the moustache
As in the Shakespeare Effigy



The STRATFORD MONUMENT
The Effigy

proud—to find my own lip suddenly lengthened into a true Shakespearian feature. Any clean-shaven man who will make the experiment will bear out what I say.

As to the proportions of Shakespeare's features, I have scribbled here a sketch from the 'Remarks' of Rumsey Forster of 1849 (Plate 8). We take the Droeshout Engraving on the left, the Bust on the right, and the Chandos painting in the middle, with horizontal lines passing across the top of the cranium and through the eyes of each; and below the



RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF THE THREE HEADS

DROESHOUT—CHANDOS—STRATFORD EFFIGY

(From *Rumsey Forster*, 1849)

nose, and through the mouth, of the Chandos. We find that the nose, in the Bust, is relatively as long as that of the Chandos but is longer in the Droeshout; while the mouths of the Bust and Print are on the same horizontal. The common similarity is greater than one would have supposed.

The costume is that worn by a serious-minded gentleman of the day—to be found in innumerable portraits—a sleeveless gown over a doublet (Plate 9); the head—that of a robust orator, supposed to be declaiming what he has just written—is made staring by the unskilful and vulgar brush by which the exaggerated pupils of the eyes have been drawn and coloured; and the stupidly hard, coarsely-shaped, half-moon eyebrows—more like George Robey's than anybody else's—have been accentuated

and set too high on the frontal bone. During the period when the bust was painted white by Malone's influence no one complained of its wooden appearance and vapid expression. But even then such chisel-work as there is, was concealed by the paint from view. The poor journeyman-work of the repainting of the bust had destroyed what attractiveness Janssen had put into his half-length statue. And yet, lacking as the work is in artistic merit, it has just sufficient marks of facial individuality to prevent it from being generalized in the manner common enough in earlier sepulchral sculpture. It is not too life-like or intimate; and while suggesting resemblance, it makes no pretence of giving the smaller accidents of the life, which, however permissible in ordinary portrait-busts and statues, are gravely out of place on tombs and in monuments. That is why that wonderfully, magically life-like seated statue of Wilberforce, by Samuel Joseph, R.S.A., in Westminster Abbey, makes us marvel at the absolute vitality of the marble; we may look, almost expectant that this noble figure may be just going to sneeze—but never are we made to think of the statue as a solemn sepulchral tribute to a great philanthropist passed away set up in the National Valhalla. The *bravura* has destroyed the solemnity. Better for the occasion is the stiff simplicity of Shakespeare's bust in Holy Trinity Church at Stratford.

It has actually been claimed by the adherents of the hopelessly unauthentic and discredited Kesselstadt Death-Mask, that that object was the original authority on which the bust was based, as some of the measurements correspond. Certain of the linear measurements agree, no doubt, as measurements of men's heads will sometimes correspond by chance; but measurements may tally as those of a circle and

an oval may tally, but without correspondence in the outward forms ; and while in the death-mask the forehead recedes, in the bust it tends towards the perpendicular—that is to say, the bony structure differs fundamentally—and as chief features also differ, radically, in shape and form and inter-relation, it is impossible, on that ground alone, to admit connexion.

In accordance with the usual practice, then, the Stratford Bust was coloured—indeed, the Flemings, to whom we owe so much of our art, from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, generally refused to accept sculpture of the kind without colour. Examples of this class abound throughout England. I need not remind you that Shakespeare himself identified statuary with colour, as in the *Winter's Tale* (v. iii—1610)—when Paulina would restrain the ardour of King Leontes and his daughter Perdita before what they think to be the statue of Queen Hermione—and they would kiss it. Paulina cries

‘ O Patience !

The Statue is but newly fix'd, the colour 's

Not dry

. Good my Lord, forbear : .

The ruddiness upon her lip is wet ;

You'll mar it if you kiss it, stain your own

With oily painting.’

So, too, Ben Jonson in *The Magnetic Lady* (v. 5), produced at the Blackfriars Theatre twenty-two years later. He scoffs at the practice :

Rut says :

‘ I'd have her statue cut now in white marble.’

Sir Moth Interest replies :

‘ And have it painted in most orient colours ’—

To which Rut rejoins :

‘ That 's right ! All city statues must be painted ;

Else they'll be worth nought in their subtle judgments.’

The painted face of the bust shows a glow of health usually to be seen only in sculptured effigies. The hair and beard are auburn; the doublet scarlet; the gown black; the falling-band white; the cushion green above and crimson below; the cord and tassels gilt. The eyes are hazel gone dark. The eyes are always the most untrustworthy part in an old portrait, for two reasons: in the first place, from the point of view of colour, because being the thinnest in pigment, in order to preserve the effect of limpidity, the eyes are liable to change; and, in the second, when a picture is cleaned, the eyes often disappear first along with the varnish removed, and have to be reinstated, frequently without proper matching by the careless restorer who has failed to make a note of the true colour before beginning his work.

Within recent years the misdirected critical spirit which is afoot has attempted to upset the authenticity of the bust and monument as we know them, on the slender basis, firstly, of the absurd plate in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, and the irresponsible imitations of it; and secondly, of certain repairs made in 1748; and the error has been so widely repeated and seized upon, both by the unwary and by the Shakespeare-haters that I must ask to be allowed a moment or two in which to remove the misconception.

In 1656 Sir William Dugdale published his great *Warwickshire*, which was declared to be his masterpiece (up to that time) and to stand at the head of all our county histories; and Dr. Whitaker reminded his readers that Dugdale's 'scrupulous accuracy ranked as legal evidence'.

Personally, on many points on which I have consulted Dugdale, both text and illustrations—I have found him inaccurate on simple matters of fact.

Not only does he assert that Combe's monument, close by, is of alabaster whereas it is of sandstone, but, among other things, he transcribes inaccurately as to spelling the inscriptions on Shakespeare's monument and gravestone, and on the gravestones of the Shakespeare family in the chancel of the church.

Dr. William Thomas edited the second edition of the *Warwickshire* in 1730, and complained that he found to his 'great surprise (when his own work was finished) that the account which Sir William Dugdale had given [of certain parishes] was very imperfect'—that a register was confused, another wholly omitted, others reversed, also epitaphs and coats-of-arms in churches passed over; but he excuses Dugdale by saying *that they were done by persons he hired* 'who took them down as they pleased themselves to spare their own pains'. That is to say, Dugdale was at the mercy of his assistants. And in 1730 a vitriolic book of 250 pages was published by Charles Hornby violently attacking Dugdale's very numerous mistakes in his *Baronage of England* (1675-6, 3 volumes).

Could it well have been otherwise? The amazingly industrious Dugdale was the busiest of writers and compilers, and great works—monumental works—stiff with facts, figures, lists, and so forth, came from him in quick succession. In 1656, with the help of Sir Symon Archer, appeared his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* with 812 folio pages. In 1655—a year before—had appeared the first volume of his tremendous *Monasticon Anglicanum* with 1,150 folio pages—the book which was accepted as 'circumstantial evidence in the Courts'. Only two years later was published his great *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* [with its ludicrous discrepancies, as to its measurements, between himself and his illustrator Hollar¹]

¹ ' . . . Dugdale, with a minute and apparent exactness, states the

all these works with many plates—and in 1662 another important work, *History of Imbanking and Drainage*, followed four years afterwards by *Origines Juridicales*, and another great folio. Rarely, if ever, has such a series of works—packed with records and details, facts, dates, names, armorial shields, inscriptions, and the like—the result of wide and deep research and amazing industry—fallen from one pen, or one editorship, in the course of ten years. The *Monasticon* is full of engraved plates, most of them of cathedrals and churches, many grotesquely false, as for example, those in which Exeter and York Cathedrals are shown with semicircular-headed windows and doors instead of Gothic, proportions incorrect, and kindred misrepresentations in others. Are we to take those plates as evidence that the Cathedrals have been endowed with a different order of architecture since the plates were published?

The fact is that Dugdale, who concentrated his attention mainly on armorial bearings and monuments and cared little for portrait-busts and architecture, was victimized both by his helpers and his artists, at the head of whom was Hollar, with his assistants Gaywood, Daniel King (whom Hollar himself called 'an ignorant silly knave'), Dudley, Carter, and several more. Hollar, whom Dugdale invited to England on a second visit in 1652, has been undeservedly vaunted, as much as Dugdale, for his invariable fidelity and accuracy. Infallibility was claimed for him. Walpole said 'he had no rival in point of truth to nature and art', and Gilpin alluded to 'his great truth' and 'exact reproduction'.

length at 690 feet, and this measurement has been repeated by every subsequent writer to the present day. It is remarkable that this does not correspond with the plan, laid out to scale, which accompanies Dugdale's description.' (William Longman, *A History of the Three Cathedrals dedicated to St. Paul in London*. . . . London, 1873 (p. 29).)

But truthful as he was in still-life subjects and certain topographical plates, Hollar was as fallible as his employer, and as hard-worked.¹ As diligent as Dugdale, he was the busiest of artists. He is credited with 2,400 plates (many large and elaborate), or forty-eight plates a year—about one a week, for fifty years; he was so busy that he cared not much more for troublesome accuracy than others of his time and class—who cared next to nothing. In 1644 the *Mercurius Civicus* (the first English illustrated paper) gave a portrait in four successive weekly numbers of Prince Maurice, Prince Rupert, the Marquess of Newcastle, and Sir Thomas Fairfax—and it was the same portrait each time, and nothing changed but the name; so that 'near enough' was the motto of the time.² For the plates to this *Monasticon* and other works, the artists would make rough sketches and written notes, or use another man's, and, returned to London—on such occasions as they had left it—work all up together at home as best they could—from memory sometimes, as there is ample evidence—confusing parts, and even monuments and Orders of architecture. They could not be expected to be more accurate than Dugdale himself.

Now Hollar was the chief engraver of the *Warwickshire*; and as the Shakespeare monument we

¹ ' . . . It must be stated, in justification of the bold attempt to represent [Old] St. Paul's more correctly than was done by Hollar, who actually saw the building, that Hollar's plates are full of evident inaccuracies. One plate contradicts another, and, indeed, scarcely two of them agree, as will be seen by the appendix to this chapter.' —William Longman, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40. Then follows a list, a page and a half long, of Hollar's obvious blunders—contradictions of himself, of established facts, and of Dugdale's statements.

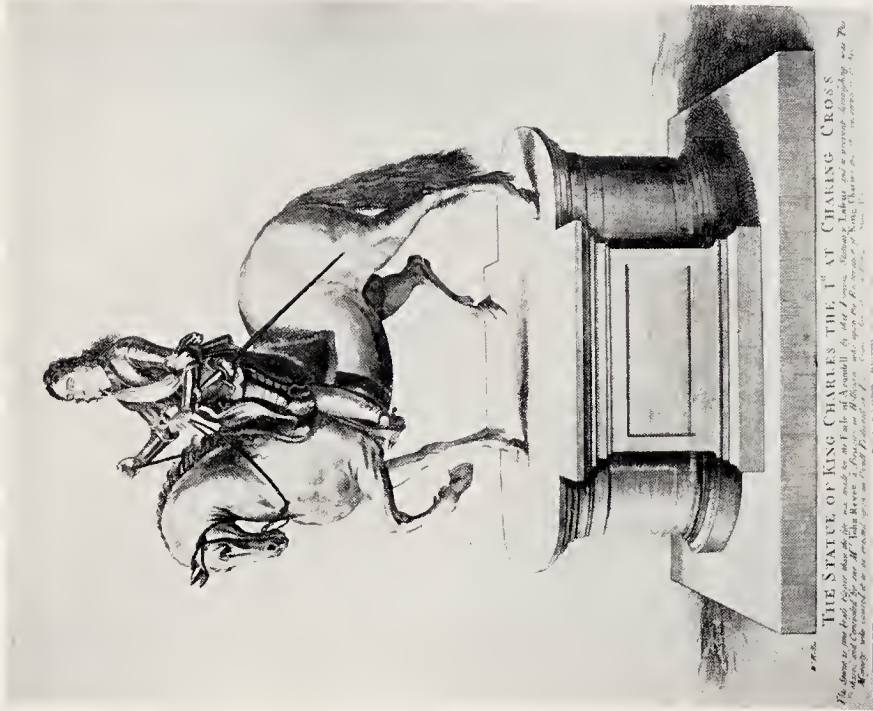
² So, too, in William Jaggard's small folio: *A View of all the Right Honorable Lord Mayors of this Honorable City of London* (1601), of which the only recorded copy was sold in the Britwell Court Library sale of the 2nd of April, 1924, 'eleven woodcut portraits alone are used for the forty-five Lord Mayors, most of them occurring several times.'

know does not agree with the plate in Dugdale, it has been innocently assumed and asserted as fact by persons unfamiliar with the ways of the earlier engravers, that the Stratford monument as we know it, and as it is here before us, is another, a different, monument and not the original—inasmuch as the proportions, as well as the details, are wholly different, and the bust presents no similarity whatever. This belief pathetically recalls the peasant's faith in the printed word because it is 'in the papers'.

Very well. Let me produce some further evidence. Most of us know the statue of Charles I by Hubert Le Sueur, of 1633, looking towards Whitehall (Plate 10), with its splendid contemporary base (wrongly attributed to Grinling Gibbons—it was carved by Joshua Marshall). The king holds his baton in his right hand, and the horse, his head turned aside, holds up his *right* fore-leg. Now, in Hollar's engraving of it the pedestal is unrecognizable; the King still holds his baton in his right hand, but the horse, with his head straight forward, holds up his *left* fore-leg instead of the right. Therefore, according to modern reasoning this whole monument must be new; the pedestal as well—for this, without decoration, is only half the height, though in plan it is fairly correct. It is clearly meant for the pedestal. As it happens, however, certain contemporaries of Hollar show the monument correctly. But Dugdale was a Warwickshire man, and had great pride in Shakespeare (as his book shows), so that, it is suggested, he would take pains to have the monument and effigy correctly drawn—more especially, we are told, as all the monuments in Stratford Church except Shakespeare's are rendered with accuracy. As a matter of fact, only two others in the church were engraved, both of them faultily—one



As it is

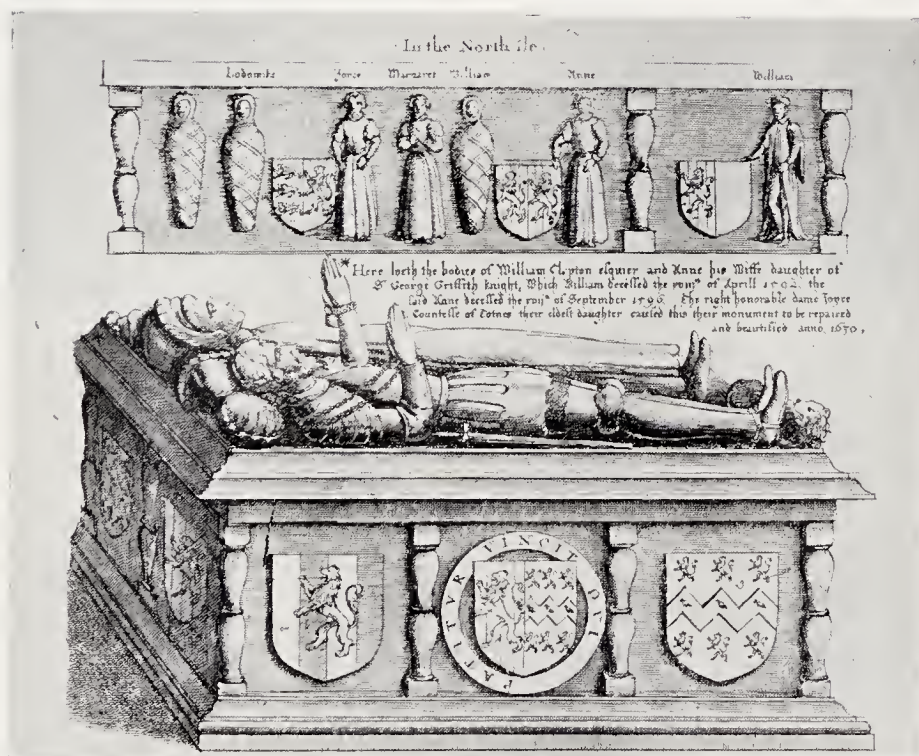


STATUE OF KING CHARLES I
at Charing Cross

As engraved by Hollar

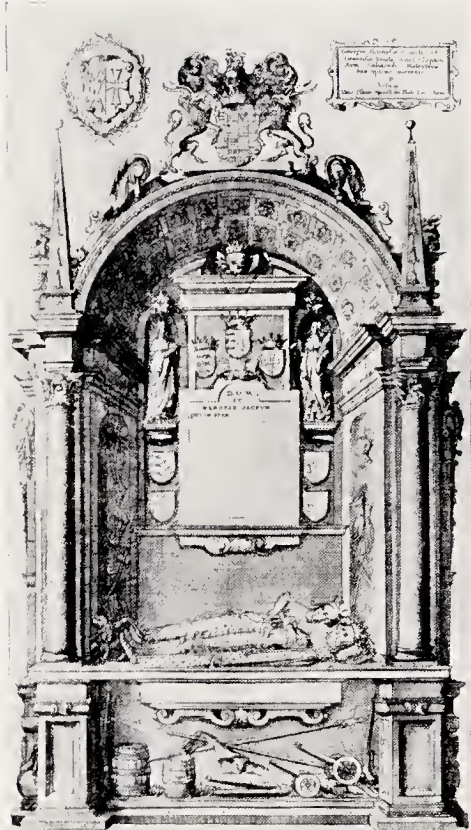
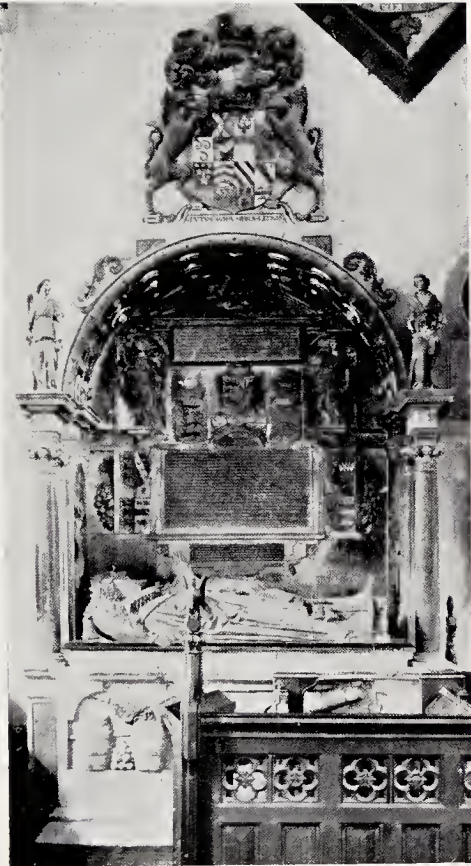


AS IT IS
(From a photograph)



AS ENGRAVED IN DUGDALE'S *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 1656

The CLOPTON MONUMENT
In Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon



The CAREW MONUMENT

Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon

As it is
From a Photograph

As engraved in Dugdale's
Antiquities of Warwickshire, 1656

of them grotesquely so. The first of these is the Clopton monument (Plate 11). You see the attitudes of the small figures on the frieze representing Clopton's children, and below the figure of the knight beside his wife, his head resting on his helmet, the crest of which is away from us, and the opening towards us. In the Dugdale plate the helmet is reversed, although it is carved out of one piece of alabaster with the figure ; and the gauntlet beside the knight's leg, into which the scabbard disappears, is omitted altogether. There are other striking differences. It is clear that the sketches taken in Stratford were insufficient to provide for a correct plate to be engraved later on in London, supposing that accuracy was sincerely desired.

Far more reckless are the errors to be found in the Carew monument (Plate 12). Here the lady lies on the outside, the husband inside. We note the angels standing upon the projecting cornices at the sides ; the horizontal shape of all the three panels bearing inscriptions and of the frieze at the bottom—powder-barrels to the left ; and to the right, cannon pointing to the *right*—in allusion to Carew being Master of Ordnance.

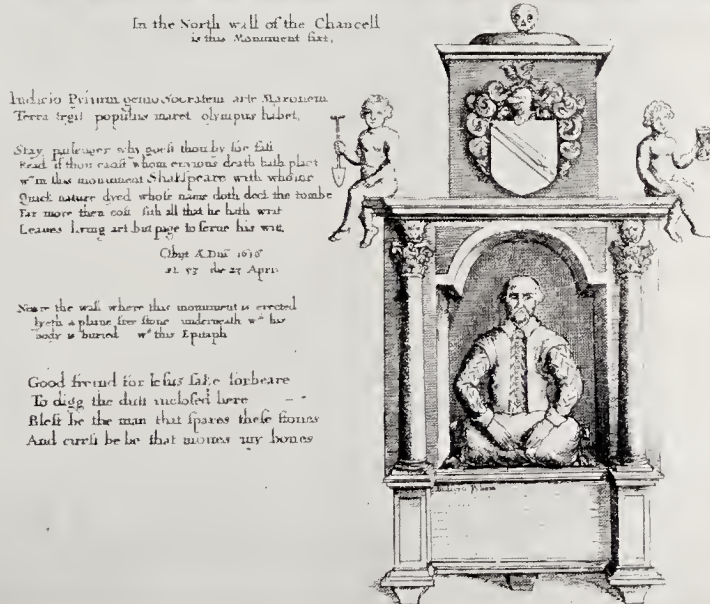
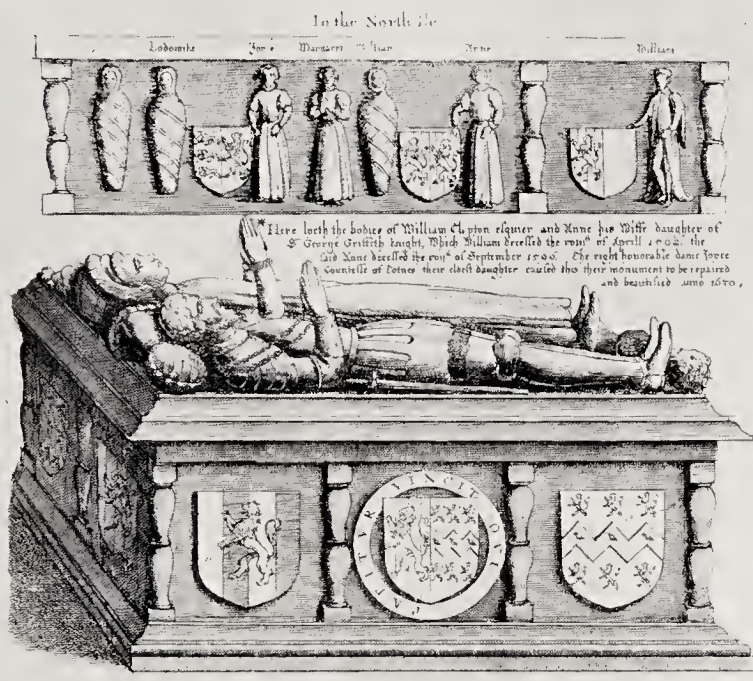
But in Dugdale's plate the proportion is utterly different. Elongated pinnacles (exactly such as we see in the monument of Alexander Nowell in Dugdale's *St. Paul's Cathedral*, also engraved under the direction of Hollar) take the place of the figures ; the arms at the top are much reduced in size ; the artist has left himself room for only two panels and so omits the third. He reverses the positions of the figures. He puts the knight *outside*, his body directed the other way ; and in the frieze, while he retains the powder-barrels in their proper position, he points the cannon the other way round—to the left ; and every other single detail, when examined carefully, is seen

to differ from the original. It all shows lack of memory as to objects although a vague idea of facts is untidily retained.

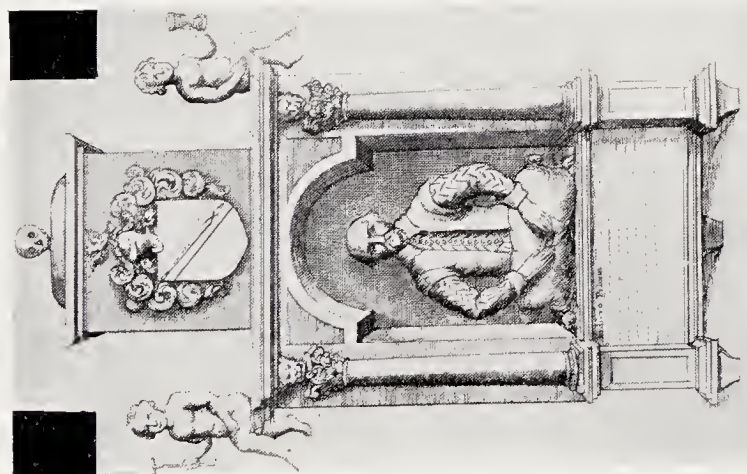
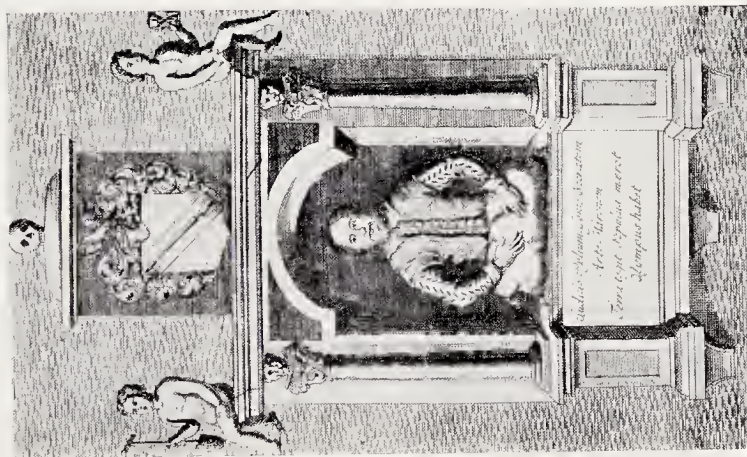
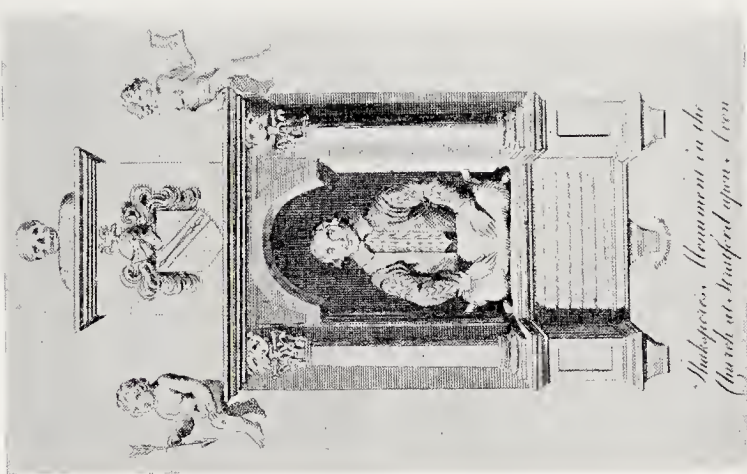
We find equal inaccuracy in the equally 'impeccable' Vertue whose artistic honesty Walpole so warmly extols to the disadvantage of the Dutchman, Houbraken—Vertue's collaborator in Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons* (1747), and as an engraver vastly his superior. Yet the enemies of the Shakespeare monument have not presumed to claim these Clopton and Carew monuments also as modern substitutions. They slur the facts over, and fix only upon the Dugdale engraving, which most probably was from the graver of Gaywood, already named as one of the ill-paid hacks employed by the publishers to engrave on brass or copper plates from sketches supplied to them.

Let us take the page in Dugdale of 1656 which shows the Clopton monument above, and Shakespeare's below, as first published to the world (Plate 13). We see at once the lamentable proportions of the monument as here misrepresented, while the style inclines to Baroque—a style some twenty or thirty years later than Shakespeare's death, but already sprung into existence when the *Warwickshire* was published. It therefore gives itself the lie. We see the poor design of the shield and mantling, the ridiculous boys cut off their mounds and perched insecurely on the edge of the cornice, little architectural in sentiment—the one holding aloft a spade, and the other an hour-glass, as shown, totally unsculptural in effect. The arch is of a different form, perhaps to allow the wide space necessary for the unauthentic, stuck-out elbows of the figure. The portrait is no portrait at all: it shows us a sickly, decrepit old gentleman, with a falling moustache, much more than fifty-two years old. Had Shake-

688 BARLICHWAY HUNDRED.



The Page from Sir Wm. Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) showing, below, the engraving (altered from his original sketch) purporting to represent the SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon ; and, above, the CLOPTON MONUMENT



THE STRATFORD MONUMENT

As misrepresented by Dugdale
(1656)

miscopied by Vandergucht
(1709)

and with further changes by Grignon
(1786)

*Shakespeare's Monument in the
Church at Stratford upon Avon*

speare been really such in his last illness would the London sculptor have so rendered him? Do sculptors, in their monuments, represent the great departed in their dying state, pressing pillows to their stomachs? Yet both hands are here upon a cushion which, for no reason, except perhaps abdominal pains, is hugged against what dancing-masters euphemistically term the 'lower chest', and the whole is supported not by brackets but by three small feet, standing upon the ground.¹ Other hack engravers followed this wretched performance, of course for other publishers, each one copying the last, instead of contradicting it by taking the trouble, and incurring the expense, of the journey to Stratford to sketch for themselves; wherefore their imitations, in spite of differences of their own, made for the purpose of avoiding charges of plagiarism (believing their 'original' to be correct), have actually been accepted as confirmatory evidence by those unskilled in the ways of hack engravers and adventurer-publishers of Dugdale's day.

So the frontispiece to one volume of Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, which Tonson published in 1709, gives us Vandergucht's version, which is a fairly favourable copy of Dugdale, except for the false panel and inscription; it is, in fact, absolutely worthless (Plate 14).

In 1786 Charles Grignion stole Vandergucht's design for Dr. Johnson's and Steevens's edition, taking care to introduce 'originality' by altering the spade into an arrow, and bringing in the elbows and narrowing the arch. Grignion, a native of London, had a great reputation, and—the friend and engraver

¹ It is the fact that the original drawing for this engraving is extant and in the possession of a lineal descendant of Dugdale, and that the plate departs in details from the sketch. Why? One of them, obviously, must be wrong. In truth, both are libels on the original.

of Hogarth—maintained his position for half a century as the chief engraver for the booksellers, by whom he was kept closely to his copper-plates, at that time the principal method of good illustration.

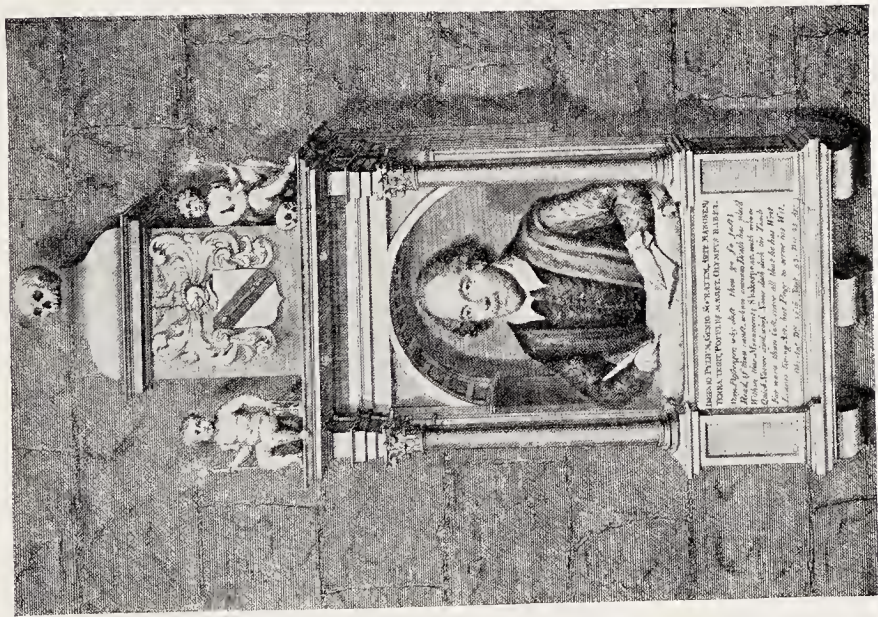
Then comes the so-called scrupulous Vertue, who could be as inaccurate as the rest, and who coolly places the head of the Chandos portrait—the popular portrait of the day—on the shoulders of the effigy ! (Plate 15)—just as he complacently engraved the Welbeck miniature (of a totally different person) and acquiesced in it as Shakespeare. But the deadly thing is that this engraving, which was done for Tonson in 1723—or twenty-five years *before* the alleged ‘ radical reconstruction ’ of the monument, which is pretended to have occurred in 1748—presents that monument to us pretty well *exactly as it is to-day*—all except the head ! The mantling, the architectural proportions, the figure with its hands ready to write upon a cushion, the seated cherubs, and the brackets, are all the same—brackets, be it observed, instead of feet, just as to-day—except only that, with poetic licence and incorrigible perversity, he daintily places impossible burning tapers in the boys’ hands, as more likely than arrow and hour-glass ; and (as you may see) no leopards’ heads are introduced on either side of the frieze. But what else can we expect, seeing that Vertue paid his first visit to Stratford in 1737—that is to say, twelve years after he had made a ‘ copy ’ of the monument on which he had never set eyes—like the copyists of Dugdale’s plate ?

Thus the game was carried on—and five years later, in 1728, for Pope’s edition, Fourdrinier just copied Vertue, maintaining the architectural character of the present monument. This, at least, is a tribute to its genuineness, for, as it is now, such you see it obviously was in 1723 ; and as in 1723,



The STRATFORD MONUMENT
Fitted with the Chandos Head

Copied by P. Fourdrinier, 1728



By George Vertue, 1723

so in 1620. As to the authenticity of the effigy itself, which ignorant critics pretend to be a modern one, I am about to offer final evidence.

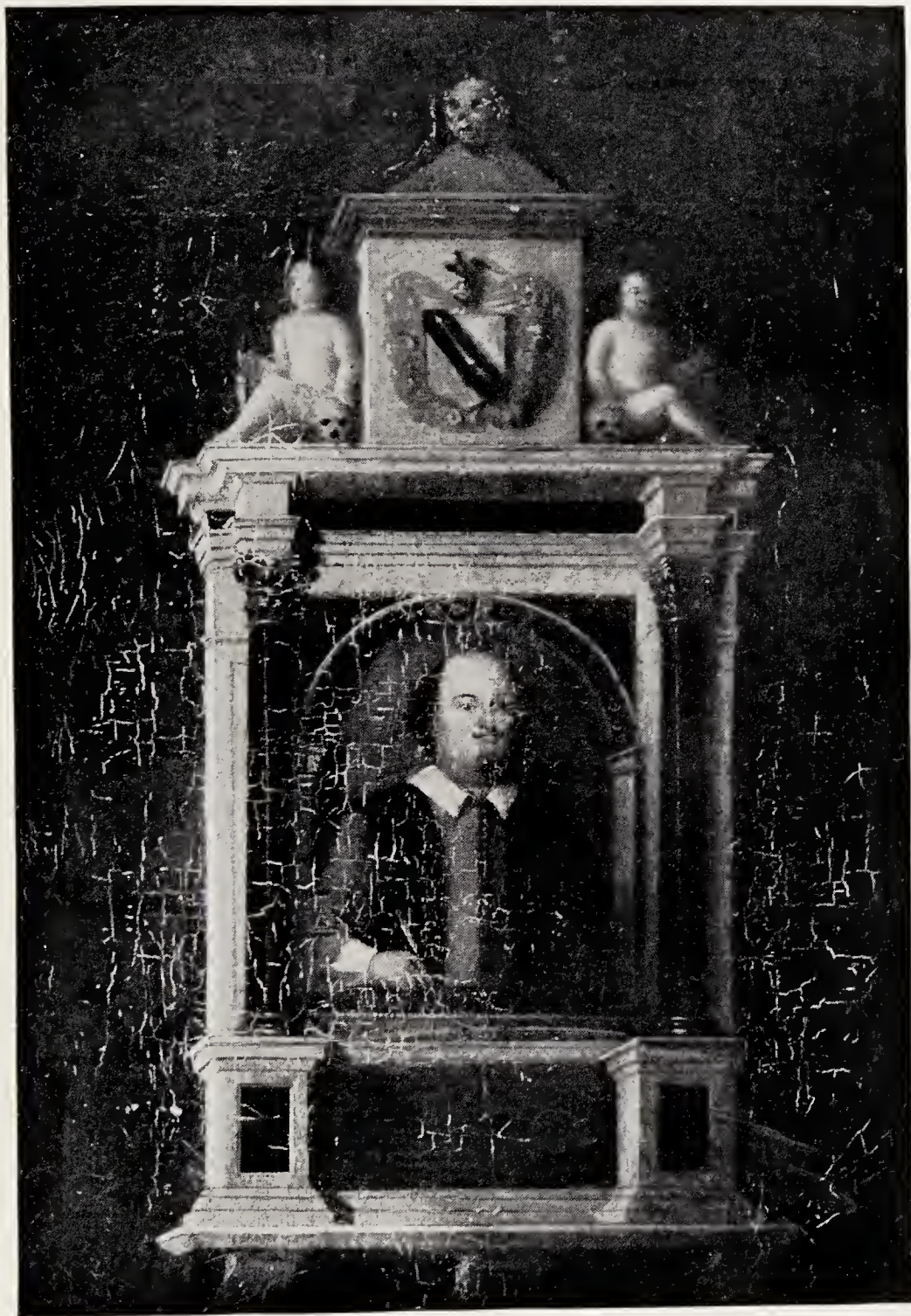
The grounds for the attack on the monument are these. In 1649—nearly thirty years after it was erected—the bust was, as it was called, ‘ re-beautified ’, that is to say, repainted in its colours, for the church was damp, and the painted figure and its shrine had suffered. In 1746, nearly 100 years later, it was said to have fallen in such a state of (superficial) decay that John Ward, grandfather of Mrs. Siddons, and head of a company of strolling players, gave a performance of *Othello* at Stratford, and devoted the proceeds to ‘ repairing and beautifying ’ the monument. This has been curiously interpreted—with the treacherous backing of the Dugdale plate and the copies of it—as having been radically a renovation to the extent of a virtual substitution, in order to justify Dugdale’s enormity—although to this day, the Combe monument hard by, erected at the same time, has never had to be touched, and is in a sound condition, except that a number of the little sculptured rosettes have fallen from the coffered arched roof. The Clopton monument also has been ‘ repaired and re-beautified ’; yet no one claims or imagines that it has been reconstructed.

John Hall, a painter, was employed for the renovation; but, when we look into the history of that renovation, naïvely put forward by the main supporters of the new theory, and accepted by the blind followers of it, we find that the amount raised from the *Othello* performance was no more than £12 10s., and that the *repairs*, which were effected after two years of wrangling, are supposed to have resulted in this fine new marble monument and carved stone bust for that paltry sum! In 1793 Malone, with the permission of the vicar, Mr. Davenport, had the

bust painted white—not 'whitewashed' as some writers have affirmed. In 1861 the white-lead paint was removed with solvents by Simon Collins, and the damaged paint underneath boldly and summarily restored in its proper colours, though in too high a key. The first joint of the finger was broken off, and the second fractured, in 1748, and the lead pen had disappeared; but Fairholt declared that no other damage existed. New fingers were said to be supplied by William Roberts, of Oxford, in 1790.

Now, in the Whitechapel Shakespearian and Theatrical Exhibition of 1910, a little picture was lent by the late Earl of Warwick, *showing the monument practically as it is to-day* (Plate 16). The painting is 19 inches high by 13 wide. I obtained permission to photograph it, and I found, pasted on the back, a label with the following inscription signed by Halliwell-Phillipps: 'This old painting of the monumental effigy of Shakespeare is of great curiosity, being the one painted by Hall *before he re-coloured the bust in 1748*. The letters proving this are in the possession of Richard Greene, Esq., F.S.A., who presented them some years ago to *Fraser's Magazine*. I purchased the picture of Mr. Greene, who is the lineal descendant of the Rev. Joseph Greene of Stratford, the owner of the painting of about 1770. J. O. Halliwell'—(that is to say, Halliwell-Phillipps). I think we can leave the matter here; but it may be added that it is pretended that the gown, not being visible in the Dugdale print, has been 'added' to the bust—as if you could add a mantle to a completed piece of sculpture when the whole, mantle and figure too, was carved from a single block! Every sculptor, and every one else with any knowledge of the arts, shrugs his shoulders at the suggestion.

There is an interesting question which might be



THE STRATFORD MONUMENT

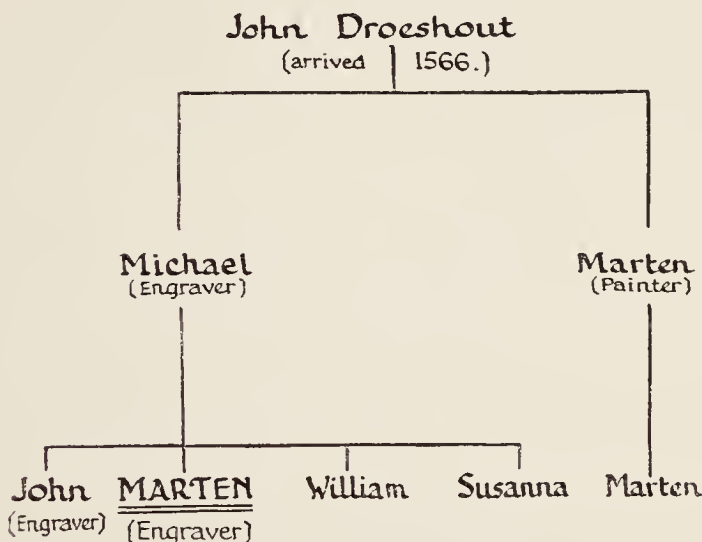
Painted by John Hall, before 1748—the date
of its misalleged reconstruction

By permission of the late Earl of Warwick

discussed as to whether the monument has ever been removed from an earlier position to that it now occupies. There is solid evidence in support of this, but it is foreign to our purpose at the moment.

II

Martin, or *Marten*, *Droeshout*, whose immortal piece of inferior engraving we are now to consider, was only twenty-two years old when his plate was



THE DROESHOUTS

published—and probably less by a year or so when he engraved it. He was one of a family of engravers, as may be seen in the little genealogical ‘tree’ above, based mainly on Dr. Lionel Cust’s researches among the records of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.

John Droeshout, a Fleming, who had arrived in London from Brussels in 1566, was a joiner and painter. His elder son, Michael, an engraver, was the father of John, MARTIN (*our* Martin)—both of them second-rate artist-craftsmen—and of two other children, who do not concern us. How young

Droeshout came to be chosen to engrave the portrait for the great volume can only be guessed : his family, and the family of the master-mason, Garratt Johnson the younger, who had lately completed Shakespeare's monument at Stratford—were members of the same church and allied to the same colony at Blackfriars. The recommendation and introduction, therefore, were natural enough.

The boy got the commission. What he made of it has provided material for unfavourable comment by most modern critics. The portrait would hardly justify Aubrey's statement that Shakespeare ' was a handsome well-shap't man ', yet the technique of it shows that Martin could engrave a sweet line—that he had a pleasing command of the graver.

We must keep the bust, or effigy, in mind while we turn to Martin Droeshout's Print—which truly, being a portrait of Shakespeare when a much younger man than him of the bust, should have taken precedence. The bust, of course, professes to show us what the Poet looked like when he had put on flesh and bobbed his hair ; yet in spite of the fact that the adipose tissue has rounded forms and filled up hollows, broadened masses and generally increased dimensions—we recognize that the perpendicular forehead and the shape of the skull are very much the same in both ; and we further observe that whereas the Droeshout Print shows us chiefly the width of the forehead *across the temples*, the full-face of the bust gives the shape of the head farther back, across *where the ears are set on*. The result, by comparison, is a piece of facial rotundity—surely far less ethereal even than what Mr. J. C. Squire calls ' the pudding-faced effigy of Droeshout ', by the contemplation of which he has declared himself so wofully depressed.

And yet every one did not declare against Droes-

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



L O N D O N

Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

Title-page of the **FIRST FOLIO**, as issued
(Howard Staunton's Copy)

hout. A. van Huelle, in his life of Houbraken,¹ while highly praising the Dutch engraver's superb plate of the Chandos Shakespeare (1747) in Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons*, declares—'I greatly prefer to this romanticized bust the engraving of Martin Droeshout. There indeed we find the features which characterize the author of *Romeo* as well as of him who wrote *Julius Caesar*. What nobility in that forehead! with what feeling is rendered the pensive and penetrating expression of the eyes and of the smile, of which the irony is softened by the sweetness of soul!' Here is appreciation if you like!

The title-page of the First Folio here reproduced is from Howard Staunton's copy (Plate 18). The dedicatory inscription 'TO THE READER' which appears variously, in the different editions, opposite or below the print (and with numerous typographical variations²) is Ben Jonson's evidence—for what it is worth—of the excellence of the likeness. We must not take this too seriously, perhaps, as this sort of tribute was in his day more or less *de rigueur* in the short poems with which it was the fashion to recommend portraits to the world. In France and Holland, as well as in England, in the seventeenth century, the best (and often the worst) poets were engaged to write eulogistic poems of the sort, irrespective of the artistic merit of the engravings. These verses were manufactured to order, often without the plate being seen by the versifier, wherefore the value of the testimony as to excellence may easily be discounted. Yet it is more than likely that Jonson saw the first proof and hoped for the best, before Droeshout's further additions compromised its reputation as a representation

¹ *Jacobus Houbraken et son Œuvre*, 1875.

² In the Third Folio there are no fewer than thirty-two such variations from the text of the First.

of humanity. The meaning here is unmistakable. Clearly, the lines

Wherein the graver had a strife
With Nature to out-do the life,

intentionally give an echo of what Shakespeare had said thirty years before—in 1593—in *Venus and Adonis* :

Look, when a painter would surpass the life,
His art's with Nature's workmanship at strife ;

and Dryden, fulsomely apostrophizing Kneller, repeated the idea as well as the form :

Such are thy pieces, imitating life
So near, they almost conquer in the strife ;

and the couplet is in a way echoed—down to the Epilogue to *The Brothers* (1769) by Richard Cumberland, in the compliment to Sir Joshua Reynolds on his picture of 'Garrick between Comedy and Tragedy', beginning—

Who but hath seen the celebrated strife
Where Reynolds calls the canvas into life.

Many other examples might be quoted, and of the concluding lines of Ben Jonson's verse dozens of parallels be given. You remember them :

O, could he but haue drawne his wit
As well in brasse,¹ as he hath hit

¹ 'Brass' and 'copper' were terms synonymous in their application to the plates on which engravers worked long after Shakespeare's day. An example may be found in John Evelyn's *Sculptura* of 1662. In the list of contents is the entry : 'Engraving on Plates of Brass for Prints when first appearing . . . 35.' On referring to p. 35 we read : 'The Art of Engraving and working off, from Plates of Copper . . . was not yet appearing, or born with us, till about the year 1490.' Brass is, of course, copper with zinc in it ; being harder than pure copper it was largely used by engravers for book-plate printing.

Again, we read in the advertisement of Nicholas Culpeper's work (1670), 'The Anatomy of the Body of Man ; wherein is exactly described the several parts of the Body of Man, illustrated with very many larger *Brass Plates* than was ever in English before.'

His face ; the Print would then surpasse
 All, that was euer writ in brasse.
 But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
 Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

The idea was already old. On Domenico Ghirlandaio's portrait of Giovanna Tuornabuoni, of 1488, a similar compliment, a paraphrase if one may call it so, is found : ' Art ! ' says the writer, ' if thou couldst render as well qualities of heart, and charm of mind, there would be no more beautiful picture in the world.'

Passing over such inscriptions as that under Albert Dürer's print of Melanchthon (1526)—

*Viventis potuit durerius Ora Philippi, Mentem non potuit
 pingere
 Docta Manus—*

we come to Malherbe's verses below the portrait of Montaigne as engraved by Philippe de Leu, written probably about 1585 :

*Voici du grand Montaigne une entière figure ;
 Le peintre a peint le corps, et lui son bel esprit ;
 Le premier, par son art, égale la nature ;
 Mais l'autre la surpasse en tout ce qu'il écrit—*

and may wonder if Ben Jonson imitated Malherbe or merely ' coincided ' with him.

Then, in 1618, appeared Simon Passe's print of Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester (who, it will be remembered, was the general editor of the Authorized Version of the Bible), bearing beneath it the dedication signed by George Withers :

These Lineaments of Art, have well set forth
 Some outward features (though no inward worth)
 But to these lines his writings added, cann
 Make up the faire resemblance of a Man
 For as the bodie's form is figured here
 So there the beautyes of his Soule appeare.

(Under the same Bishop's portrait of 1657 is a variation of the same idea, ending with the lines—

And now that grave Aspect hath deign'd to shrink
 Into this less Appearance. If you think
 'Tis but a dead Face, Art doth here bequeath
 Look on the following Leaves and see him Breath.)

Again, below the younger Crispin van Pass's portrait of Francis Bacon is a bantering apostrophe to the engraver :

*Graveur, le papier de ce liure
 Où Bacon a peint son Scauoir,
 Aura sur le temps ce pouuoir
 Qu'il durera plus longtemps que ton cuiure.*

And under 'The Portraicture of Captayne Iohn Smith Admirall of New England', engraved by George Glover about the year 1617, is a tribute containing the verses :

These are the Lines that show thy Face but those
 That show thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee . . .
 So, thou art Brasse without but Golde within.

All these precede Droeshout. A couple of examples will show that this sort of laudatory inscription usually retained the same central idea in the years that followed. The rhymester who in 1646 contributed the lines to Marshall's portrait of Sir John Suckling for *Fragmenta Aurea* apparently had Ben Jonson's lines in mind :

Sucklin whose numbers could invite
 Alike to wonder and delight
 And with new spirit did inspire
 The *Thespian* scene and *Delphick* Lyre ;
 Is thus exprest in either part
 Above the humble reach of art ;
 Drawne by the Pencill here you find
 His forme, by his own Pen his mind.

And Sir Bulstrode Whitelock, who died in 1675, is

apostrophized with similar rapture scarcely convincing enough to carry off successfully the last shocking two lines of the ' poor Hexastick ' ;

To limne thy merits, and Heroick meedes
 Illustrious Whitlock is a task that needs
 A noble draught, for who dares be so bold
 To cut in Brasse what should be grav'd in Gold
 Or with one poor Hexastick raise y^e columnes
 Of his vast merit which deserveth volumnes.

Whether or not Ben Jonson meant quite what he said—(he repentantly admits that he was formerly sometimes to blame in this matter)—the fact remains that the print was issued in an expensive memorial edition of Shakespeare's work, issued at £1 (say, some £6 or £7 of our money to-day) by Shakespeare's fellow-actors, and dedicated to two of the greatest noblemen of the realm, high personages at Court and in Society, who had known the Poet and were perfectly familiar with his appearance. It may therefore be believed—so many eyes being on him—that Jonson wrote with circumspection, with due regard to truth. As to the price of the book—does it not seem, with regard to the longish interval that elapsed before the next edition was called for—nine years—that it was the prohibitive cost of it that delayed the sales, and not, as some would have us believe, the public neglect of the man of Stratford? How many of our leading dramatists' works—even to-day—when the authors have been dead for seven years (and retired for years before that) would ' go off ' quickly at from £5 to £10 per Folio?

The print, as it is commonly known, was engraved by the year 1622 by Martin Droeshout, who was an Englishman born. The faults in it spring at us at once, although they are not quite so obvious in the early impression from the plate. The forehead does

not show so badly as in later prints what Mr. Arthur Benson has called the 'horrible hydrocephalous development of the skull', yet it is singularly hard and over-accentuated in the jaw line from the ear downwards, which has actually suggested to some of those who ache at all costs to discredit the portrait as such, that it is a mask. Yet this same line appears not only in many engravings, but in many oil paintings of the period and since. For example, it is quite as marked in Sir Joshua Reynolds's painting of Richard Burke, at which I was looking not long ago, to take only one case out of scores. The hair does not balance on the two sides; the ear is malformed; the cupid's-bow of the mouth, with its great depression of the medial lobe, is utterly contradictory of the mouth in the bust. The mouth here is perhaps the most deplorable defect in the head. As is very obvious, it is too far to the right and has become a deformity. Place your hand over it and after studying the upper part of the face, withdraw your hand, and you will see that it is not in the place in which you would expect to find it—the fact being that it is centred right below the nostril. In the 'Flower portrait', which we shall presently consider, it is corrected and placed in the proper position. There is a strongly emphasized hatchet-like shape to the lachrymal *fossa*; there is a hard long sweep of the eyebrows; and the head is much too big for the body; while the exaggerated and distorted perspective of the lines of the dress, as well as of the trimming of it, especially on the left (with the grotesquely large and vilely drawn shoulder-'wings'), show that this portion at least was not done from life. As to these exaggerations, an American writer was the first to declare that it made two left sleeves—how is not apparent—and this tailor-authority has been acclaimed with rapture and found followers

even here in England among the heterodox. I come to that again.

But worst of all is the illumination of the head. The light comes from more than one place—it falls on the top of the head, right on to a strangely accentuated crescent-shape below the right eye-socket ; it comes from the left of the nose, according to the shadow on the right side of it, and on the ' wired-band ', as this style of collar was called ; yet there is shadow on the left of the left cheek, and light on the edge of the hair on the right, which ought to be in shade. And, still more strange, the lights in the eyes and the chief shadows on the face, are both on the same side. All this is pretty conclusive that the artist worked not from an oil painting, but from an existing ' limning ' of the poet—a portrait consisting of an outline drawing, with perhaps delicate flat washes of colour—as in a Hilliard miniature when miniatures were widespread in the art of Elizabeth's day ; and that, when he was required to strengthen it with added shadows and modelling, in order to give life and force to an engraved plate, the inexperienced young artist carried the plate as far as he could—and carried himself over the borderline of sane facial representation. To this same conclusion, I find, Sir George Scharf (the first Director of the National Portrait Gallery) also arrived. But, when all is said, the outstanding fact remains—that the forms of the skull, with its perpendicular rise of forehead, correspond with those in the Stratford effigy ; and this—the formation of the skull—is the definitive test of all the portraits. The Droeshout and the sculptured effigy show the skull of the same man, who, in the engraving, is some twenty years or so younger than him of the bust.

As to the bad drawing of the doublet and its ornamentation—from which it has been attempted,

quaintly enough, to prove, cryptically, that it is the back, or partially the back, and not the front—its fault lies as much in its stiffness as in its lines. In the portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, painted about 1590 by Zuccaro, we see almost equal convergence of the lines. Droeshout, indeed, was often abominably bad in his draughtsmanship, especially in his perspective. In his plates of 'The Prophecies of the Sybills', the fifth of the series of twelve—'Sybilla Samia'—holds a book so amazingly out of perspective that it is hardly recognizable as a book at all, so post-impressionistic is it in shape. His figure of 'Springe' (in the set of the Seasons) is remarkable not merely for the similarity of treatment in the Shakespeare portrait, but for the same bad want of system of *chiaroscuro*.

If we would see the correct drawing of the costume which Shakespeare wears, we may look at the portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery, of the broad-chested Earl of Essex, painted in 1597, and we become more indulgent towards young Droeshout (Plate 19). It is reversed for the sake of comparison. The rich dress has greatly puzzled many worthy commentators. It was that of gentlemen of 'the better sort' of the day. We have it, in the same Gallery, in the portrait of George Carew, Earl of Totnes, in Paul Van Somers' Henry, Prince of Wales, and in others. Henry, Marquess of Worcester, in the panel portrait of him which was sold at Foster's auction-rooms on March 13, 1913, wears a costume identical with that in the Shakespeare engraving. It has been suggested that the mere mummer Shakespeare would not have worn such a doublet, unless he was in stage dress, or in the uniform of the King's Players—either of which surmises may be correct; but it is perhaps more likely—seeing the disparity in the relative proportions of head and body—that Droeshout, work-



The DROESHOUT PRINT
(First Folio)

(Copyright of Emery Walker)



The EARL OF ESSEX
in the National Portrait Gallery
(Reversed for Comparison: showing
the costume correctly drawn)
(Copyright of Emery Walker)



The 'FLOWER PORTRAIT'

Also (incorrectly) called 'The Droeshout Original'

By permission of the Trustees of the Stratford Memorial

ing from a limning of the head only, stuck it (and that too high) above the body he so infelicitously invented and so flatteringly attired.

We now revert to Droeshout ; and I point once more to the print—this time a heavier impression, well on in the edition of 500 copies or thereabouts which constituted the first issue of the Folio.

This brings us to the so-called ' Droeshout Original ', otherwise, and more properly and correctly, known as the ' Flower portrait ', presented in 1895 to the Shakespeare Memorial Gallery by Mrs. Charles Flower—a member of the Stratford family which founded that institution and has extended to it such munificent patronage (Plate 20). Such history as the portrait has is altogether negative. Mr. Flower had bought it from the executrix of Mr. H. C. Clements of Sydenham, by whom it was alleged to have been presented to him by a descendant of Shakespeare's family, in whose possession it had been since the Poet sat for it. No names were given—no proofs offered, no evidence of the slightest kind vouchsafed. It all hangs on the bare assertion of the vendor. It is more or less the story, in its main lines, provided to support so many other so-called portraits of Shakespeare, and can well be ignored. We must rely for our conclusion on the portrait itself. An inscription on the back asserts that in the middle of the eighteenth century it was exhibited in London, and ' thousands went to see it ' ; but the most diligent research has failed to reveal any contemporary, or any other, mention of this important popular event ; which is the more curious as the feverish Shakespearian activity about that time, preceding the Bicentenary and Garrick's Jubilee, is fully reflected in the records of the time. The picture has been shown at the Crystal Palace and at the Alexandra Palace (where it was slightly

damaged in the great fire). It was first brought into serious consideration when Dr. Lionel Cust introduced it to the attention of the Society of Antiquaries in 1895—when among the Fellows and leading Shakespearian scholars it made a few friends, and far more scornful enemies. The authorship of it was at one time absurdly ascribed—as so many Shakespeare portraits have been, quite at random—to Cornelis Janssen ; and the reason for the obscurity in which so important an object as an undoubted portrait of Shakespeare—from the life—had been allowed to remain, was that brought forward in defence of several other alleged portraits of the Poet : ‘ the Puritan ascendancy and civil wars ’. A justification so weak does the work undeserved discredit.

The picture is painted on gesso on a worm-eaten panel of English elm, which had previously done service for a portrait of a lady in a high ruff and a red dress (as can be traced in a good light especially when the sun is shining on it). [What if it should be ‘ The Dark Lady ’ ?] The costume worn by Shakespeare is simpler than in Droeshout’s engraving, of which its adherents believe it to be the original. It has the appearance of tempera work ; and, if the allegations of those who examined it in 1895–6 that it contains megilp and bitumen, which, being still soft through freshness, yielded to Sir J. Charles Robinson’s pin-test in the recent paint, are true—as they doubtless are—that might only prove recent restoration and extensive repair, and not necessarily imply entire imposture, as many asserted without, however, being able to carry general conviction.

The character of the picture—which may be a seventeenth-century production, executed from the print—is quite inconsistent with a portrait from life. There are none of those little tentative experimental touches which are invariably present, even in the



The 'FLOWER PORTRAIT'
Showing the Painter's corrections of mistakes
and bad drawing by the Engraver



The DROESHOUT PRINT
(First Folio)
(Copyright of Emery Walker)

most dashing portrait, when an artist is exploring for the details about the eyes and corners of the mouth—the accidents of a face—which give expression, likeness, and life—the colour and folds of the skin and the play and forms of the muscles. There is just that deliberateness of execution, the boldness and firmness of handling, that we expect from the painter who, confident in his traced outlines, goes straight ahead on the design he has ‘squared off’ from the authority before him, with nothing to find out—no problem to solve. Thus, the woodenness of the picture—precisely like that in a sign-painting—corresponds, as we might expect, to the hardness of the print. But the painter, who knew his business up to a point, has constantly departed from the original where it was obviously incorrect, and so has introduced many improvements.

An engraver, when he has his original before him, has to copy it, and not deliberately to introduce errors grossly departing from it. Yet every difference in form between picture and print is hereto the advantage of the picture, and tends towards naturalness (Plate 21). The lighting of the head in the Print is unintelligible—rather, indeed, illogical; in the Painting there is a broad system of illumination. The ridiculous crescent-shaped light under the eye is broken up and dispersed. What engraver, with such simple light-and-shade before him would plunge into the complicated contradictions of the Droeshout Print? Why—we might ask—should he represent as a malformation the lobe of the ear well drawn in the picture? Why systematically misrepresent the lachrymal *fossa* and caruncle of the eye—a characteristic defect of young Droeshout in his other engravings of heads? Why put a light on the ear, which is in deep shadow? Why exaggerate the arrangement of the hair, of *un*-horizontality? Why play tricks with the shape of

the mouth—another of Droeshout's mannerisms?—all the 'Sybills' sport the same intensified 'Cupid's bow'. Why place this nearly full-face mouth in a nearly three-quarter-face head? Why cast undue light on the wired band where it is in shade? Why make this serene forehead bulbous? Why vitiate the perspective of the dress by ignoring and falsifying the almost perpendicular line of the central trimming before him? Why exaggerate the wings of the sleeves? And why, above all, suppress the one piece of important evidence testifying that the portrait is Shakespeare's—the inscription in the left-hand corner of the picture—*Willm Shakespeare, 1609*? Why suppress *that*? Why should the engraver—how incompetent soever he may be—do all these things, and introduce gratuitously all these faults, if this alleged 'original', without those faults, were before him to trace and copy? On the other hand—is it not obvious?—a fairly practised painter, with a faulty original engraving to work from, would not hesitate to put right the defects (as here has been done), even to making the left eye match the right, although with his uncompromising journeyman-signboard sort of touch he gives a slightly aquiline shape to the nose.

As to the inscription—it cannot be accepted as contemporary with Shakespeare, in 1609. In an age in which such inscriptions were common, this one is unique among all the rest, in being written, in neither capital nor in 'lower-case' letters, nor even in italics, but in cursive script. There is in it too, an 'a' which is modern—but that may possibly be a repair and so should not, in fairness, be brought forward in hostile witness. But there is something more.

Everybody who was inclined to accept this picture, or to dispute it, forgot the existence—or overlooked

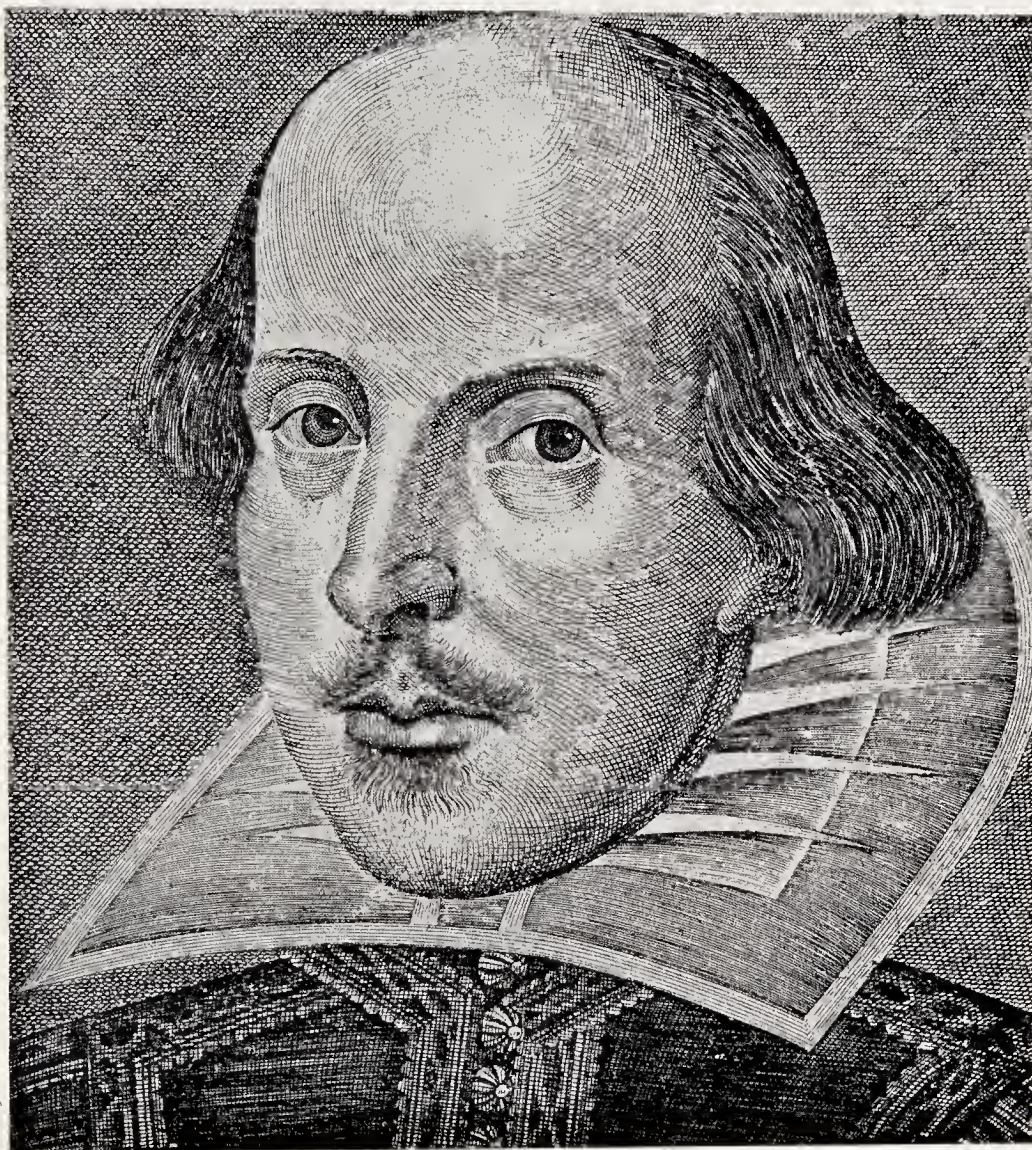


The Halliwell-Phillipps 'UNIQUE PROOF' of the Droeshout Portrait

(Now belonging to H. C. Folger, Esq., New York)

From the original Photograph in the Shakespeare Birthplace

By permission of the Trustees



The HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS 'UNIQUE PROOF'

From the Photograph supplied by H. C. Folger,
of New York

By permission of the Owner

the significance—of the so-called *Unique Proof* discovered in 1864¹ by Halliwell-Phillipps (who paid £100 for it), now the property of Mr. H. C. Folger (who acquired it from Mr. Perry) in America (Plate 22). It is this which supplies documentary proof of what has hitherto been based on reasoning on artistic grounds alone. This is here shown, in the first place, from the photograph of it in the Shakespeare Birthplace, by consent of the Trustees. In this witness-in-chief, which, as I shall presently show, is far from impeccable, we see a more human face; but the main interest lies in a few minor but very significant divergences.

It is no longer possible to call the proof 'unique' as another exists in the Bodleian Library—and yet another in the British Museum. There is a fourth, known as the Lilly proof.²

The Halliwell-Phillipps photograph is introduced here partly for the sake of completeness, but mainly in order that I may make the *amende honorable* for having publicly stated that the 'First Proof' laid down on the spurious title-page of the Malone First Folio was a later state than this *Folger-Halliwell-Phillipps* 'Unique Proof' (Plate 23). On receiving from Mr. Folger the photograph I found to my amazement that the photograph of it belonging to the Trustees of the Birthplace is wholly misleading. I knew that it was out of focus, but I did not know, and could hardly guess, that the photograph was from an under-exposed plate, and that that was the reason why many lines do not appear in it. The absence of these lines would naturally lead one to believe that

¹ Announced in the *Art Journal*, 1865, p. 30.

² The late Mr. Sabin informed me that in 1911 he bought at Sotheby's auction-room a copy of the First Folio with the Droeshout plate in the 'unique' state, and that within two years he had sold it to an American customer for £2,700: the volume, he said, had a cancelled leaf in the matter preceding *Troilus and Cressida*.

this Malone print is a later 'state' (Plate 24). Even as it is, the matter has given a good deal of trouble to Sir Frank Short, the President of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers, and to me, to determine this matter of 'states', because photographs enlarged six times have been necessary to prove that differences which exist between the two good photographs (of the Folger and Birthplace proof) are not of 'line' but really of more generous inking of the Malone plate (Plate 25). In one case there is still doubt—whether at the point of the collar it is increase of printing-ink, or retouching, that has repaired the blemish.

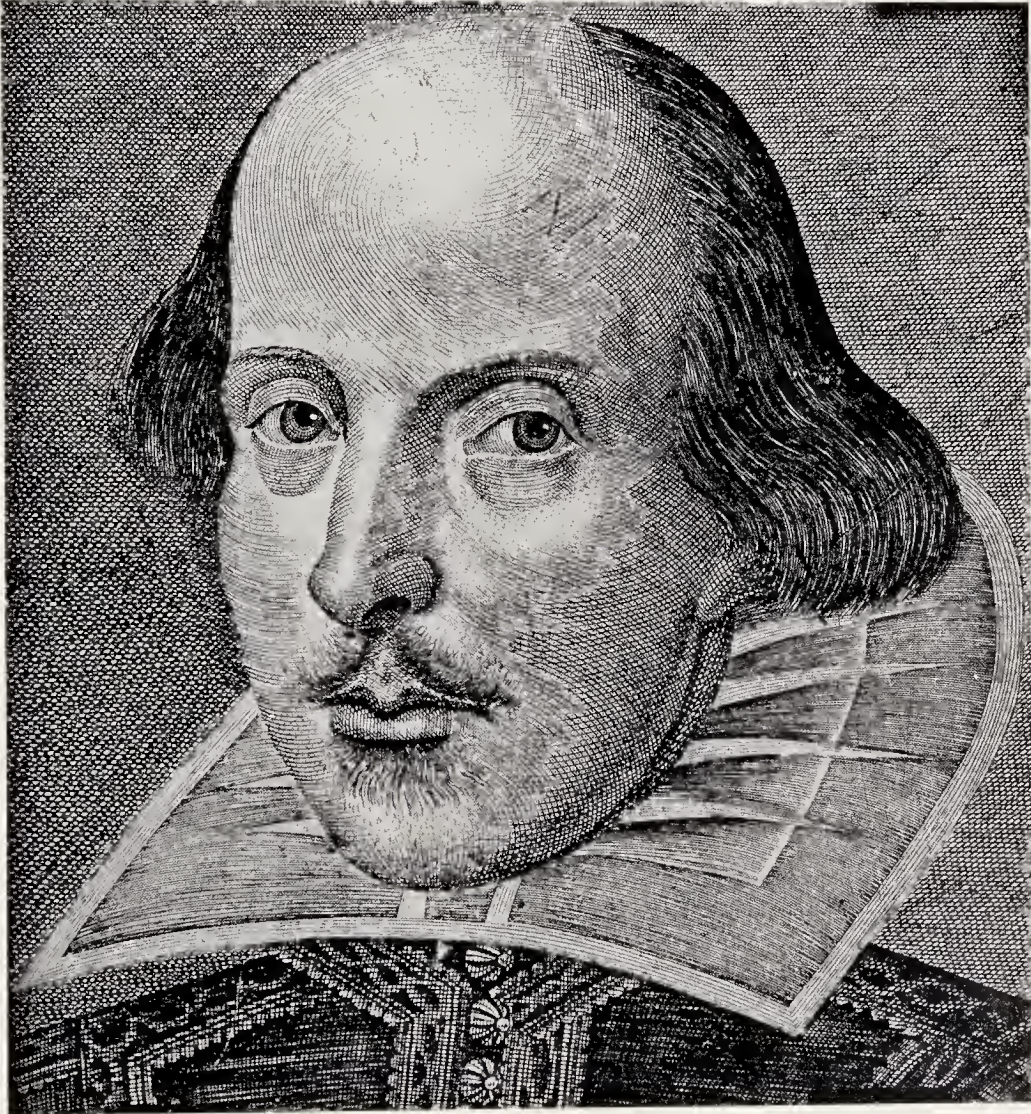
The matter seems a very trifling one to persons of normal temperament; but to the collector and to the specialist connoisseur of engraving it is of prodigious importance that a man would fight for to the death.

The Malone title-page on which this 'unique proof' is laid is here shown in order that the modern—probably eighteenth century—printed page may reveal its character to the spectator (Plate 26).

The early 'state' of the head in the First Folio, now spoken of as the *Quaritch Folio*—lately acquired by the British Museum—is identical, except for minor details and variations incident to the operation of printing (Plate 27). It looks slightly woollier than the others because it is reproduced (by the kindness of Mr. Dring, of Messrs. Quaritch) from the excellent half-tone rendering issued by the firm from whose hands the volume passed into the National Collection. The fine mesh throws a glamour of softness over the whole. These, then, are the four known 'proofs'.¹

Let us now run through the editions of the Droeshout head, showing how the plate did service

¹ I have discovered the owner of the Lilly proof; but for good public reasons he wishes to remain unknown for the present. It is in the Sabin Folio.



The MALONE PROOF

By permission of the Bodleian Library

MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.

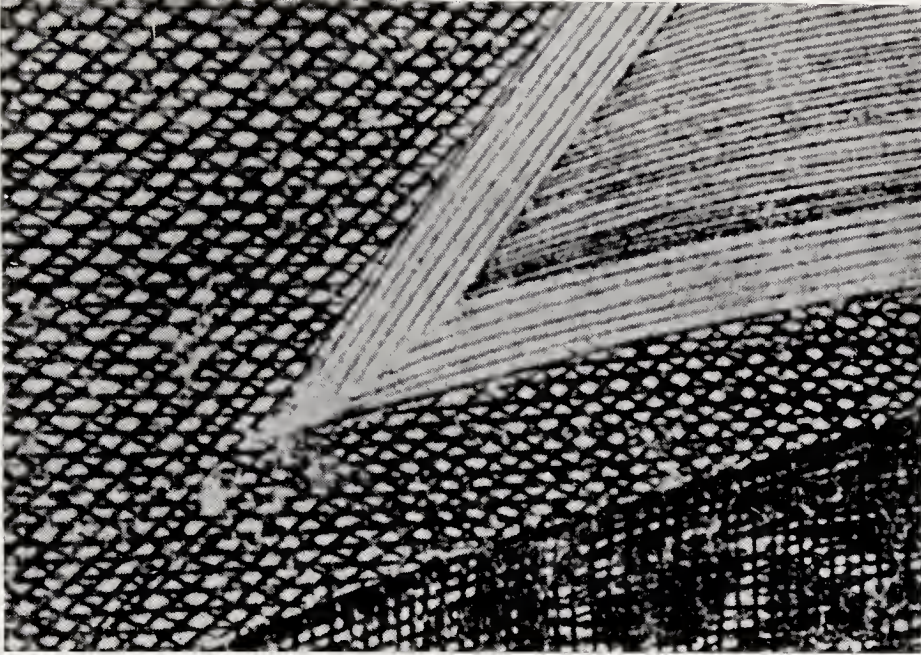


L O N D O N

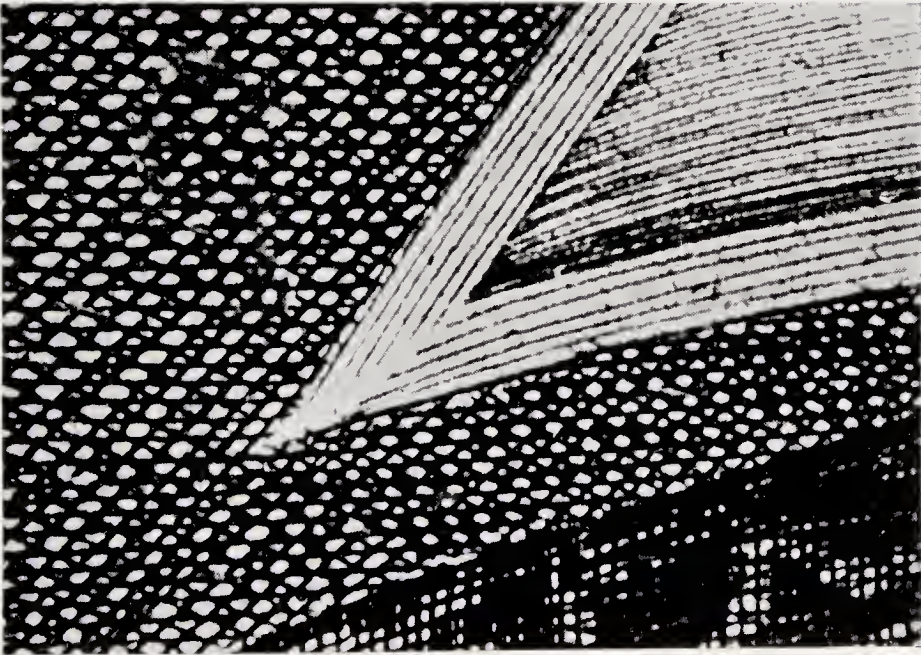
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

The Genuine Malone Proof on the 18th-century printed
proof of the Title-page to the First Folio

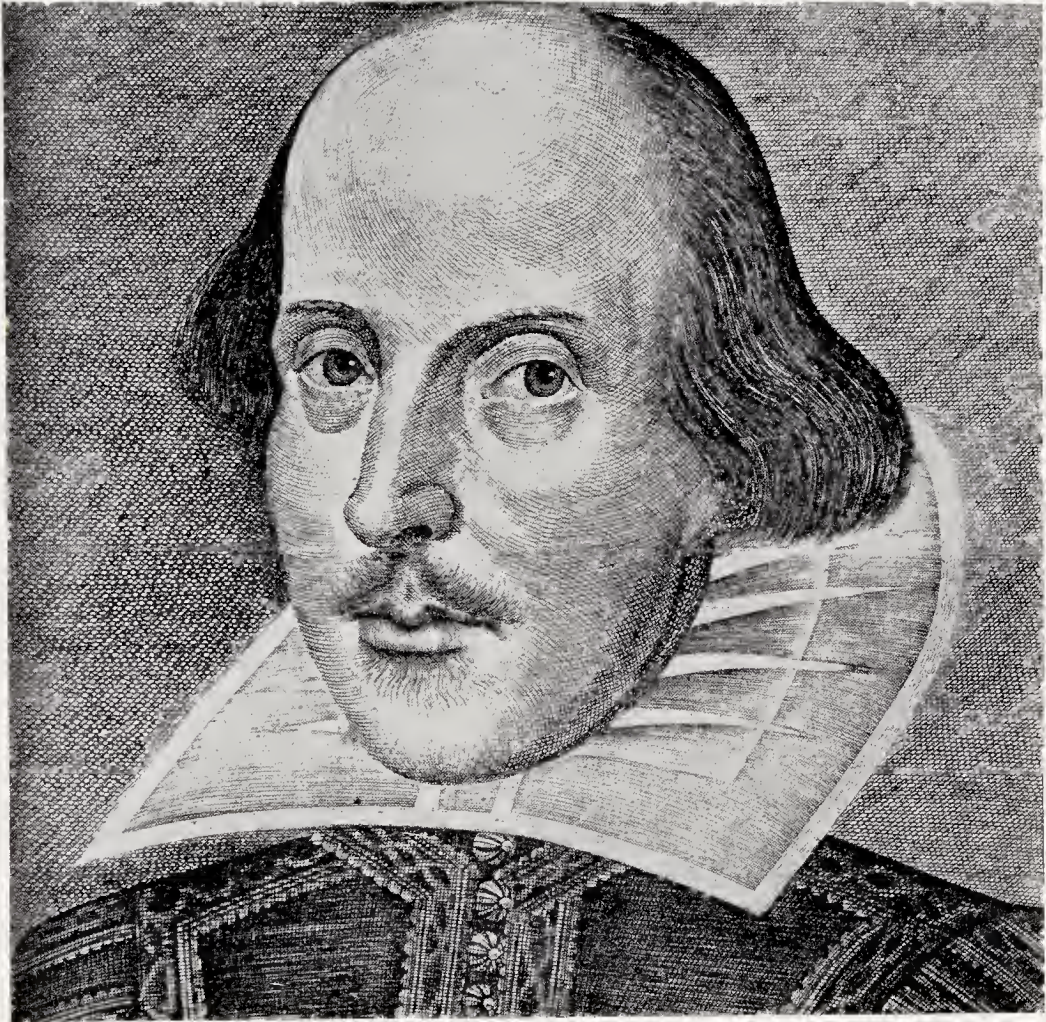
By permission of the Bodleian Library



From the Photograph, at the Birthplace, of the
Halliwell-Phillipps 'Unique Proof'



From Mr. Folger's photograph of the Proof
Enlargements of a Corner of the Collar in the two Proofs,
to illustrate the question of 'States'



The BRITISH MUSEUM PROOF
(The line across the middle does not occur in the plate)
By Courtesy of Messrs. Quaritch

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES

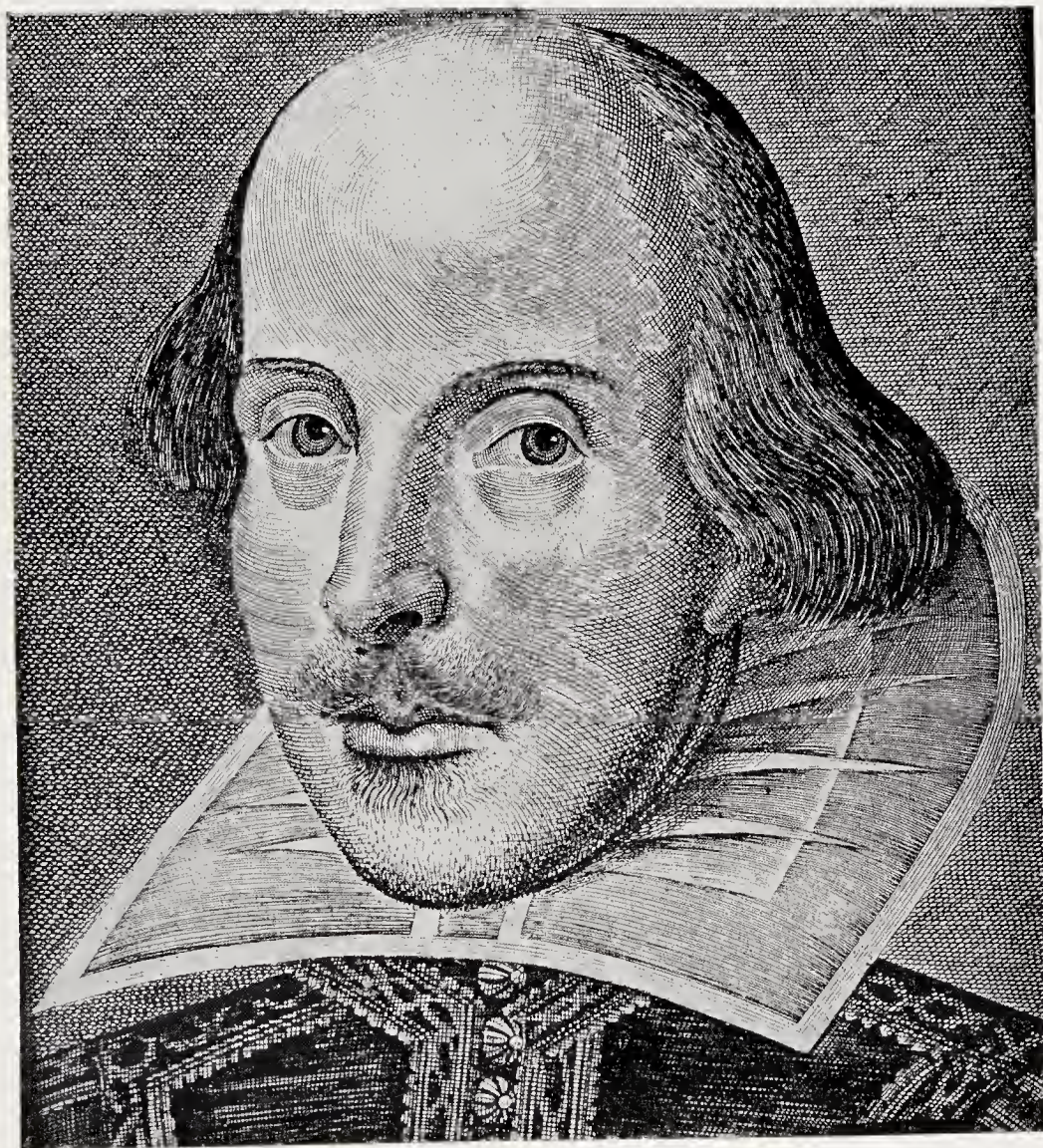
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies:



Earliest Proof of the Title-page of the First Folio, with the
Halliwell-Phillipps 'Unique Proof' of the
Droeshout Portrait

By permission of H. C. Folger, Esq., New York



THE DROESHOUT PRINT
From the First Folio—1623 (the Turbutt Copy)
By permission of the Bodleian Library



The DROESHOUT PRINT

From the Second Folio—1632

(With small lines from the pupils cutting into lids and extra line of hair,
detached, on the right on the back of the head)

By permission of the Bodleian Library

in the four (really five) editions, or impressions, and how each issue may be distinguished and identified.

There is now here presented—the first time, I believe, it has ever been thus shown—the historic whole ‘*unique proof*’ title-page with its irregular type-setting and wording and defective centring (Plate 28). Priority must be claimed for it over the other two because the type-page has a *colon*, instead of a full-stop, after the word ‘Copies’. This has been corrected in the British Museum copy and, of course, in the ordinary First Folio. The Malone printed title-page, being spurious, does not count.

Mr. Folger, after much entreaty, for the treasure was stored away and was almost inaccessible, kindly had it retrieved and had this photograph made for me.

The noteworthy points of Mr. Folger’s proofs are :

Small moustache ; *clean* chin ; *light* eyebrows ; the right one (our right) *rising*, and *kinked*, the left one curved *down* at the extremity ; the hair growing naturally from the head ; *no shadow cast* by the head on the collar (or ‘wired band’).

Malone Proof (Bodleian copy). The same, but more heavily inked.

First Folio, 1623 (Bodleian—the *Turbutt* copy) (Plate 29). *Large* moustache ; *stubbly* chin ; *darkened* eyebrows ; the right one a *clean sweep*, *drooping* at the end ; the left *raised* at the end ; hair lightened where it springs from the head, possibly to represent it growing grey, but in effect to make it look wig-like ; *a shadow cast* by the head on the collar.

Second Folio, 1632 (Bodleian) (Plate 30). Plate deteriorating ; hair whiter ; *an extra line of hair* at the back of the head, showing against the background ; a *short line drawn from the white spot* in each pupil, cutting into the lid—more upward in the left eye than in the right. In some copies of the First

Folio (at the British Museum and at Cambridge, and in the Carysfort copy) these lines appear ; in the Bodleian 'original'—the 'Turbutt'—copy they do not : proving that they were added on the plate while the printing of it was proceeding.

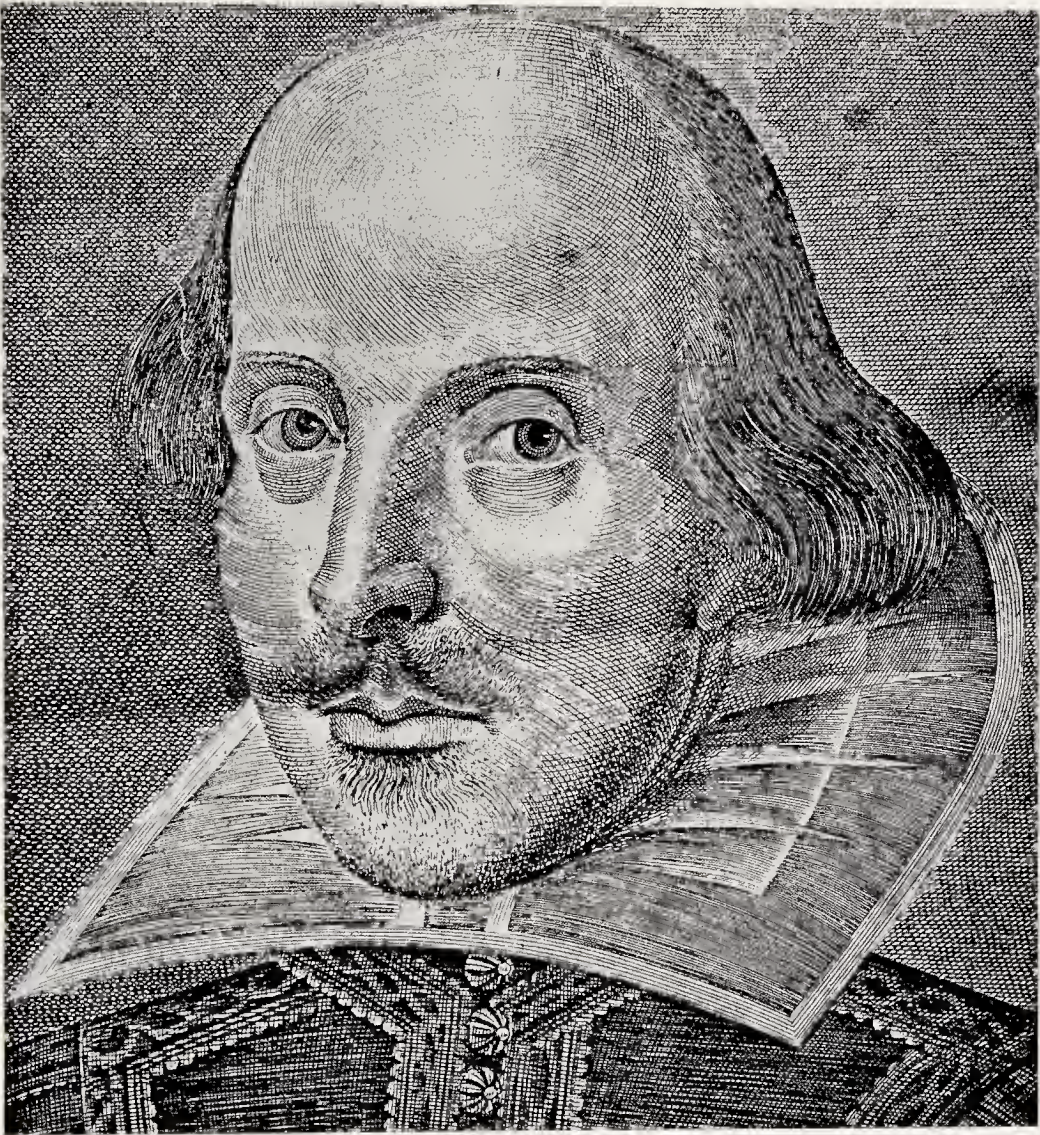
Third Folio, 1663 (Wadham College) (Plate 31). Plate more worn and badly inked. Line from left pupil no longer cuts into the lid.

Third Folio, Second Impression, 1664 (Bodleian) (Plate 32). No difference from the last, but better printing.

Fourth Folio, 1685 (Bodleian) (Plate 33). Violent cross-hatching over nearly the whole plate : forehead, nose, lips, moustache, cheeks, and chin, and hair, even on the cast shadow, the doublet, and part of the collar. Only the background escapes. All is vigorously seared across in various directions in the vain hope of bringing back force and life into the worn used-up plate. The early impressions were not so bad as the later ones, which are dreadful. There was little future hope for the plate. In the 1664 Folio and the Fourth Folio, the portrait is transformed into a frontispiece by being removed to the opposite page, in order to make room for the additional list containing *Pericles* and the six apocryphal plays generally supposed to be there attributed to Shakespeare. (The ascription is cleverly implied—but it is certainly not stated.)

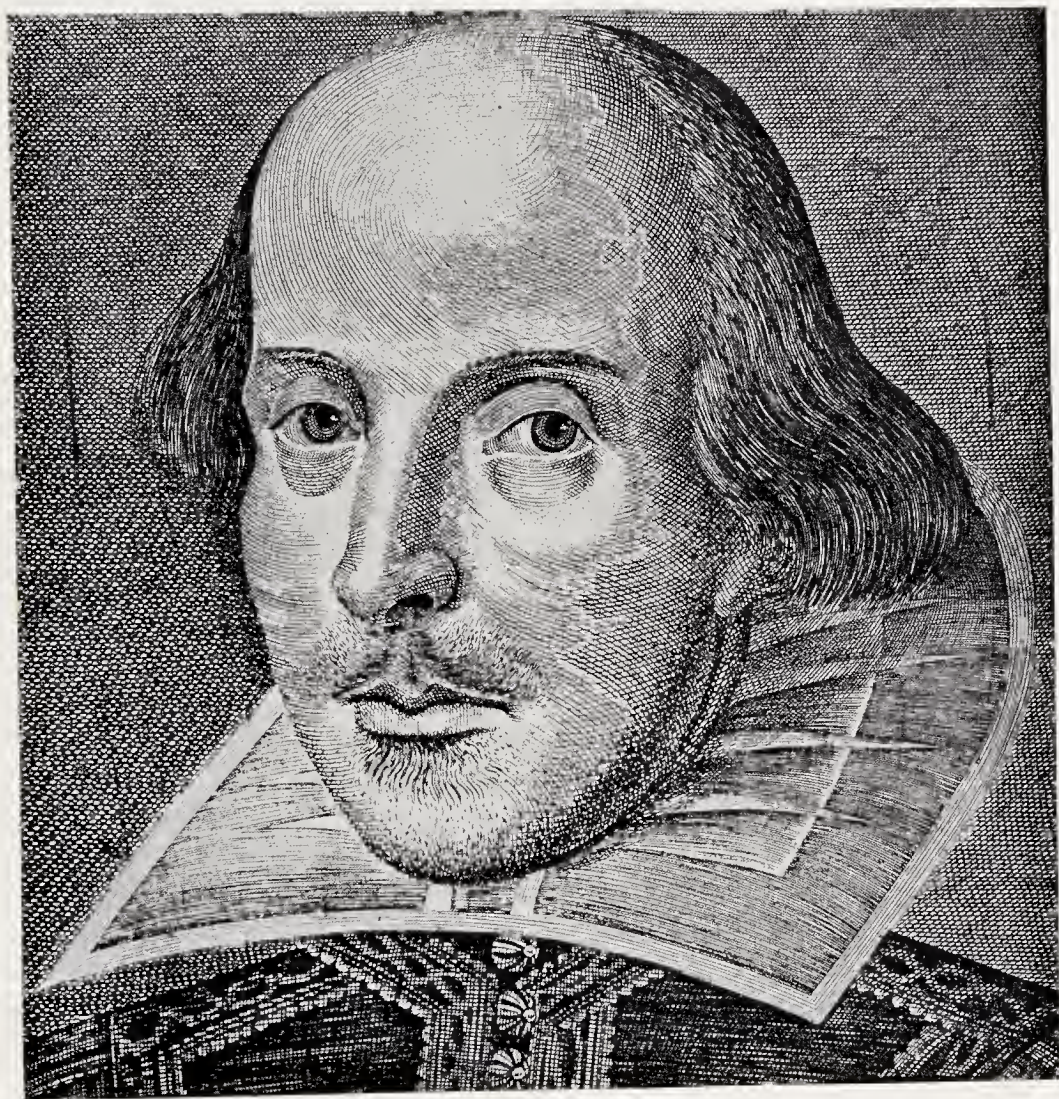
When the Print and Proof are placed side by side, it is seen that the most eloquent differences are those in the eyebrows, the moustache, and the wired band, and the edge-illumination of the hair where it springs from the face.

In the *Proof* the eyebrows are light—the shading lines downwards from left to right ; in the *Print* they have been worked over and the lines are now upwards. In the *Proof* the right eyebrow is shorter ;

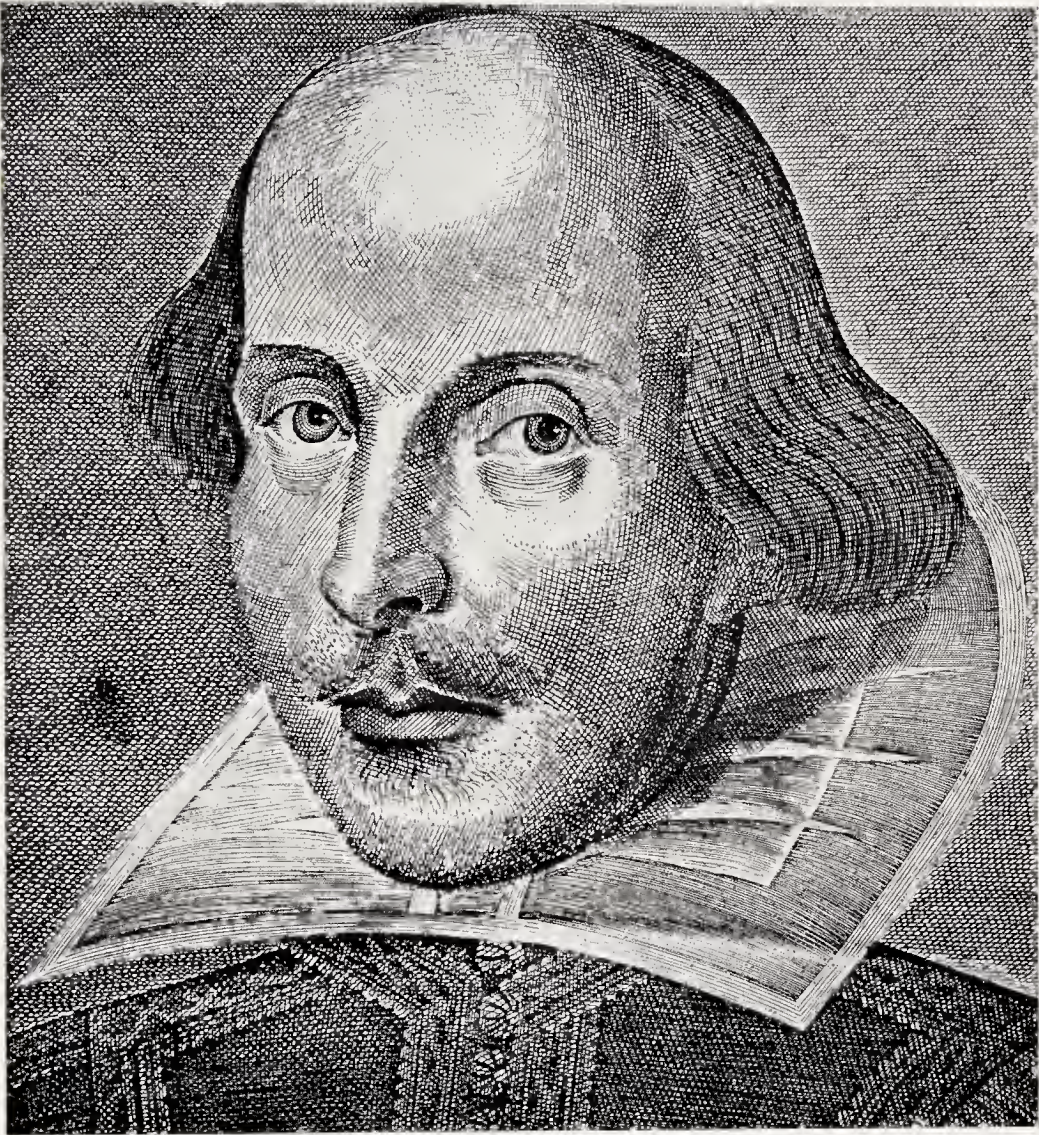


THE DROESHOUT PRINT

From the Third Folio—1663 Impression, at Wadham College
By Permission of the Warden



THE DROESHOUT PRINT
From the Third Folio—Impression of 1664
By permission of the Bodleian Library



THE DROESHOUT PRINT

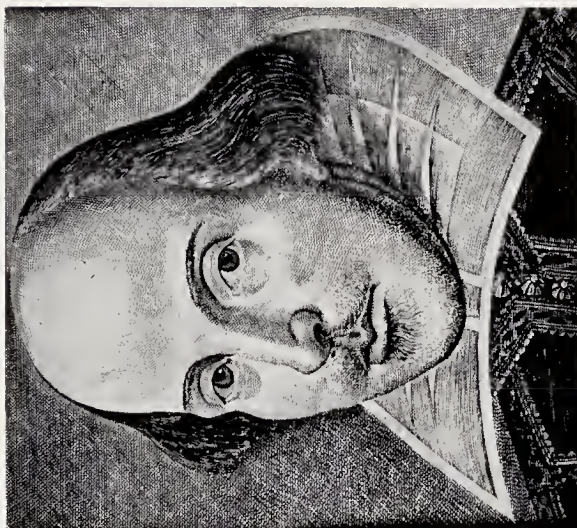
From the Fourth Folio—1685

(‘Restored’ with cross-hatching)

By permission of the Bodleian Library



The DROESHOUT PROOF



The DROESHOUT PRINT

(For Comparison)



The 'FLOWER PICTURE'

in the *Print* lengthened. In the *Proof* the right eyebrow is fairly straightened to where the frontal bone joins the *columnar nasi* with the little 'kink' or angle; in the *Print* it is widened, arched, and runs into the nose with a bold curve.

In the *Proof* the moustache is thin and narrow; in the *Print* it has been broadened and enlarged.

In the *Proof* there is no shadow cast on the collar; in the *Print* there is shadow.

In the *Proof* there is no light where the hair springs from the head; in the *Print* there is a light.

In the *Proof* the chin is clean, in the *Print* two days' growth of beard has been added—all, evidently, to lend age to the face, and to make Shakespeare more recognizable to those who remembered him in his later years.

Now—when we compare these prints with the painting, can we escape the conclusion (even if we wished to do so) that, in historical sequence, the proof came first, the print second, and the picture last? Thus:

1. *Proof*—eyebrow light, short, and 'kinked'; *Print*—eyebrow dark, long, and sweeping; *Picture*—eyebrow dark, long, and sweeping (Plate 34).

2. *Proof*—moustache small; *Print*—moustache large; *Picture*—moustache large.

3. *Proof*—no shadow on collar; *Print*—shadow on collar; *Picture*—shadow on collar.

4. *Proof*—no light on hair; *Print*—light on hair; *Picture*—light on hair.

5. *Proof*—no inscription; *Print*—no inscription; *Picture*—inscription.

Once more—is it not obvious that the order, as I have said, was Proof—Print—Picture?

III

It is odd that at the time when Halliwell-Phillipps 'discovered' his 'unique proof' amid joyful congratulations, none of the zealous and watchful critics had ever noticed that the proof had not only been discovered before, but that an undisclosed engraver—whom I believe to have been E. A. Ashbee—had executed a beautiful little plate of it (Plate 35)—only about half the size of the original, yet wherein he reproduced every mark of the 'proof' state, while securing a closeness of imitation, in every engraved line, that is truly surprising. The more remarkable, indeed, is this in a plate little more than half the area of the original—about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$. It was first issued with Bathurst's edition in 1773, and was used in larger size in the third (Reed's) edition of 1785—about eighty years before Halliwell-Phillipps delighted the literary world with the vaunted uniqueness of his title-page.

Below the portrait and the main inscription is the orthodox pronouncement—'Engraved from the original Portrait prefixed to the first edition of his Works, 1623, the only one which has any pretension to authenticity'. Presumably, therefore, the editor and artist controlled one of the two, or three, known extant copies of the First Folio with the plate in the proof state—and it occurred to neither of them to make any fuss whatever about it.

This Droeshout Print has naturally been often engraved, more or less faithfully, for the decoration of Shakespeare's works. The first of which mention should be made is that by William Marshall, rather poorly executed, in reverse, as a frontispiece to the unauthorized edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, published in 1640—eight years after the appearance of the Second Folio (Plate 36). (This has been called



A. Kneller del.

TO THE READER.

*Whose figure, that thou here seest put,
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
Whereto the graver had a strife
With nature, to out-doe the life:
O, could he but have drawn his wit,*

*As well in brasse as he hath hit,
His face the print would then surpass
As that was ever set in brasse;
But since he cannot, reader, looke
Upon his picture, but his booke.*

Ben. Jonson.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,

*Engraved from the original Portrait presented to the first Edition of his Works, 1623.
the only one which has any pretension to authenticity.*

Engraving [? by E. A. Ashbee] after the Malone 'Proof', 1773 and
1785 of Johnson and Steevens's Edition



By William Marshall, 1640
Frontispiece to Shakespeare's *Poems*
Facsimiled by J. Swaine, 1824



*The Fates decree, that tis a mighty wrong
To Woemen Kinde, to have more Greife, then Tongue
Will: Gilberson: John Stafford excud.*

Frontispiece by William Faithorne to *The Rape of Lucrece* . . . (1655)
Facsimiled by R. Sawyer, 1819

a copy after a lost original by John Payne ; all the authorities, following Walpole, have affirmed it. But, inasmuch as no one is known to have seen an impression of the supposed Payne print, it may be questioned if such has ever existed.) It has been for the most part very well facsimiled five times—by J. Swaine, on steel, and by others—with or without the signature *W. M. Sculpsit* beneath the verses, and each renders with curious precision the hardness of the original. The wired band is too upstanding, the ‘ rays ’ upon it are too much elaborated, and the head and face are too globular ; but a point of interest lies in the cloak over the shoulder and the sprig of bay-leaves in the hand, which are the ‘ authority ’ taken for the introduction of these embellishments in several of the faked and fabricated portraits of Shakespeare extant, graphic and sculptural. Especially it may be noted that the moustache is done from the ‘ Proof ’—appropriate enough to the youthful poet ; and that the hair on both sides of the face is made horizontal.

More curious is the portrait in the plate, attributed on good grounds to William Faithorne, of which only five impressions are known to exist (Plate 37). It is the frontispiece to that extraordinarily rare little book, *The Rape of Lucrece. . . . By the incomparable Master of our English Poetry Will: Shakespeare. Thereunto is annexed ‘ The Banishment of Tarquin ’ . . . by J. Quarles*, and published in 1655—representing Lucretia stabbing herself in the presence of her lord and husband Tarquinius Collatinus. It has been several times excellently copied from 1819 onwards ; this facsimile is by R. Sawyer.

In the seventeenth century the Droeshout Print was necessarily the type of portrait adopted by the publishers until 1709 (when Tonson used also a version of the Chandos portrait for Rowe’s edition

of Shakespeare). It was employed also for the unimportant purposes of title-pages of this sort—the title of John Cotgrave's issue (with that name) of his *Witts Interpreter* of 1662 (Plate 38). The Droeshout Shakespeare here takes its place among the series of six great Englishmen and two Frenchmen—one of whom, Du Bartas, is represented with a crown of bays, so unmerited in his case, together with Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.

The portrait in this print—which was engraved by Hollar's pupil, Richard Gaywood—measures only about three-quarters of an inch each way, and yet a great enlargement does not diminish the character of the original.

This tiny scrap of homage to Shakespeare is often overlooked. It was repeated in the next edition of the book, nine years later, wretchedly copied by another hand ; but the volume was one of the more popular among the humbler collections and anthologies, mainly of a humorous sort, and there was little insistence on artistic excellence, or appreciation of it.

As far as is known, up to 1790 no fabrications of portraits of Shakespeare, painted with deliberate intent to deceive, were known. There were copies of the Droeshout and the Chandos portraits, and casts of the bust at Stratford and from the statue in Westminster Abbey ; but they were frankly admitted to be copies, or memorials. In 1790 Stockdale published the version by William Sherwin of the Droeshout Print, with improvements (Plate 39). [Sherwin was a bit of a character who, according to Nollekens, when he had to draw a figure, 'would begin at the toe and draw the figure upwards in a most correct and masterly manner'. The elder Henning—the sculptor of the Pan-Athenaic friezes on Burton's arch at Hyde Park Corner and on the Athenæum Club—did the same.] This print, issued as the frontispiece to



The Droeshout type as adopted in John Cotgrave's *Witts Interpreter*. Engraved by R. Gaywood, 1662



Engraved by William Sherwin (1784 and 1790) to represent the
Droeshout Print with the falling moustache—precursor
of the Felton portrait



The “‘Robert’ Elstracke” Portrait
(in pen and ink)

Adaptation of the Droeshout Portrait

By permission of Mr. Beatson Blair



PAINTING CORRESPONDING TO THE 'UNIQUE PROOF'
By permission of Sir James Ranken Fergusson, Bart.

Ayscough's edition of Shakespeare of 1790, has only this in it to interest us—that it is the first graphic portrait—(recommended as 'a striking likeness' by its publisher)—which shows the Poet as in the Droeshout Print, but with a *falling moustache*, thus heralding the advent of the Felton portrait.

This was in 1790—and two years later, in the course of nature, came the famous 'Felton' portrait to light. The way had apparently been paved for it. It may be only a coincidence : on the other hand, even as a coincidence it is painfully suggestive. It aroused wide suspicion, for the Felton is the first painted portrait with a falling moustache. But that is another story.

Here, at least, we touch the borderland of the deliberate fakes—and spurious portraits of Shakespeare—of which an amusing example is the clever and elaborate pen-drawing in which the Droeshout head has been set on a body wearing a princely robe, and placed in much the same setting as that in which James I was painted (Plate 40). The inscription, in absurd rococo script, meant to be accepted as ancient, but found on other Shakespeare frauds, tells us that it is by *Robert Elstracke*—the agreeable forger not knowing that the R. of the artist's first name stood not for 'Robert' but for Reynold. This drawing, done on a vellum-paper by a craftsman of the ability of James Minasi, belongs to Mr. Beatson Blair of Manchester. It is, I believe, generally unknown.

We now pass to another unpublished picture (Plate 41) which, were it pure, would be thought by many to claim parenthood of the Droeshout proof—for while it has the aquiline nose of the Flower portrait (whimsically called the 'Original' at the Stratford Memorial Gallery), it alone gives us—among painted portraits—the small moustache of the 'Unique Proof', the Cupid's-bow mouth, and the hatchet-

shaped lachrymal *fossa*. But, alas—it displays that awkward, bungled ear which is a hall-mark of the Shakespeare picture-forgers, Zincke. Moreover, the hair is of the luxuriant growth and fashion of the favoured Chandos portrait, not that of the Droeshout. The faker, apparently, has been at work on a genuine picture. There is the blotchiness due to old repairs which have ‘gone down’ in colour since they were poorly done a century and more ago. The portrait consisted originally of a head only; by later additions it has been transformed into a bust-piece. Both the collar and doublet are compromises between the Droeshout and the Chandos; but the most disturbing element is the quality of the broken colour in the flesh which we do not identify with English sixteenth or early seventeenth-century portrait-painting: it suggests a Flemish hand working on an English foundation.

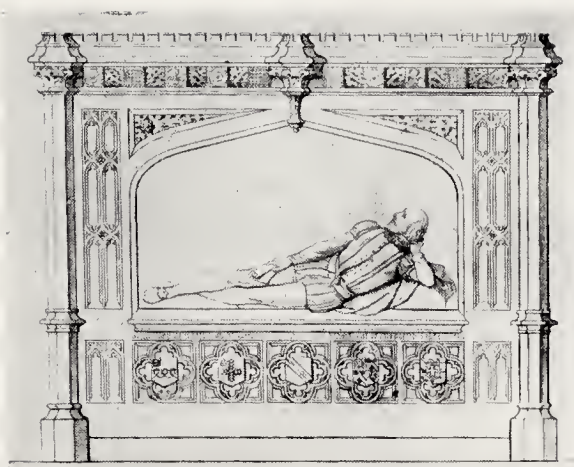
This interesting work belongs to Sir James R. Fergusson of Spitalhaugh, West Linton, who acquired it in London many years ago; but its history has not yet been traced. It is with his consent that it is here shown. On the back of the panel—which is certainly 300 years old and more—cut with an adze, before planes were in common use—is a beautifully incised inscription which leaves us unconvinced as to the date of it—[— W. S. 1616—]—especially as the lettering has been blackleaded—presumably in order to conceal the fresh colour of the excision.

Five more portraits I would touch rapidly upon, for they are closely allied to our subject; two of them collated works, as it were; two of them frankly imaginary presentations; and the last a poet’s ‘vision’.

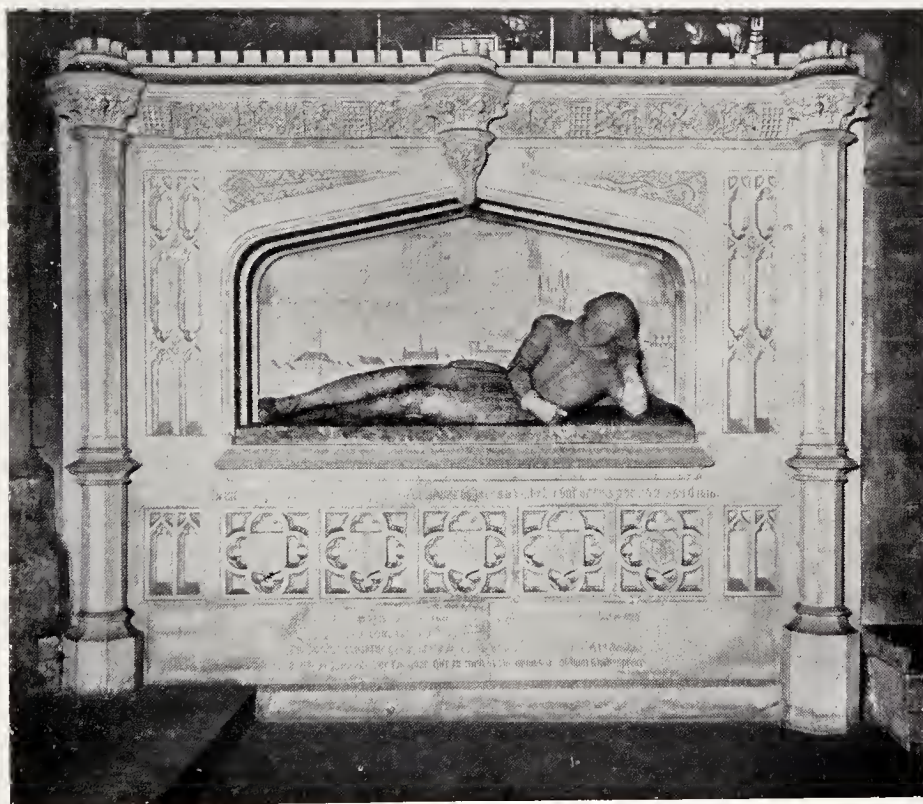
The first of these is in the fine plaque by Professor Lantéri, executed after the design of William Martin, LL.D., F.S.A., affixed to the wall of Barclay’s



The GLOBE PLAYHOUSE MEMORIAL PLAQUE
By Prof. Lantéri (designed by Dr. W. Martin, F.S.A.)



The First Design—with the Chandos Head



The SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL IN SOUTHWARK CATHEDRAL

Droeshout type. By Henry McCarthy

Brewery (by the Shakespeare Reading Society in 1909), on, as was then believed, the site of the Globe Theatre by Bankside (Plate 42). This assumption has now been disproved by Mr. George Hubbard, F.S.A.¹ Here the Droeshout head is the source of inspiration, humanized in the realization of it. The sculptor, not without 'authority', has exaggerated the space between the Globe and the river, and has set Old London Bridge where the present bridge now stands—a few yards to the west.

In 1912 a companion memorial to the honour of 'William Shakespeare for several years an inhabitant of this parish' was erected in Southwark Cathedral, mainly through the efforts of Dr. Ralph W. Leftwich supported by the generosity of Mr. Sanford Saltus, an American lover of the Poet (Plate 43). Beneath a Tudor Gothic canopy, against a background setting forth the Cathedral, the Globe Playhouse, and other buildings along Bankside—together with the southern arch of London Bridge decorated with impaled heads of malefactors, the recumbent Shakespeare reclines, as the sculptor says, 'meditating his plays'. It is a sympathetic rendering by Mr. Henry McCarthy, executed in alabaster, the material commonly used for ecclesiastical effigies in Shakespeare's day. The portrait is very cleverly realized, a good rendering of the Droeshout engraving. The first sketch—here set forth—which was shown to me by Dr. Leftwich was based upon the Chandos portrait. I pleaded for the Droeshout on grounds of authenticity and the suggestion was happily accepted.

The next—a very different work—is the extraordinarily original statue by the brilliant American sculptor, Mr. Frederick W. MacMonnies, done in

¹ See *On the Site of the Globe Playhouse of Shakespeare . . .* By George Hubbard, F.S.A., V.-P., R.I.B.A.: Cambridge University Press, 1923.

bronze, based equally on the Droeshout Print, but slightly modified, he told me, by the study of the Stratford Bust (Plate 44). This very impressive, and at the same time amusing, work now embellishes the Congressional Library in the Capitol at Washington, one of the several noble figures that look down, dominating the vast hall, and in good keeping with its refined enrichments.

Professor Charles J. Allen's bust, which crowns the Heminge and Condell memorial in St. Mary the Virgin Churchyard in Aldermanbury—dignified and convincing beyond most of the sculptured effigies of the Poet, and perhaps the most satisfactory head of its class in England—does honour to the two men to whom, we must suppose, we owe the First Folio (Plate 45). It, too, is a happy amalgam of the Stratford Bust and the Droeshout Print—both of them immortalized in verse in the Folio itself, which is represented in the monument. The characteristic shape of the skull in the Stratford Bust is well reproduced. My photographs were taken from the plaster when the work was still in the studio. This, probably, is what Garratt Johnson was trying to do.

Similarly inspired—but not, however, leaving wholly out of account the Janssen, Chandos, and Hunt likenesses of Shakespeare, in spite of their relative unworthiness—is the finely-realized ideal portrait by Ford Madox Brown, now one of the honoured ornaments of the Manchester Gallery (Plate 46). Yet when this beautifully conceived and elaborated work was exhibited, in 1850, it was received with silence by artists, press, and public alike. Madox Brown told me so, and added that Dante Rossetti sat to him for the picture—just as he himself had, most appropriately, posed to himself for his figure of Milton. As Madox Brown wrote of the picture in 1865—it is 'an attempt to supply the want



STATUE OF SHAKESPEARE

By FREDERICK W. MACMONNIES

At the Congressional Library in the Capitol, Washington

By permission of the Sculptor



The STRATFORD BUST
for comparison with
the profile by Prof. Allen



The BUST OF SHAKESPEARE
on the Heminge and Condell Memorial,
St. Mary the Virgin Churchyard, Aldermanbury
By Professor C. J. Allen, R.B.S.





Portrait of
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
(The Stratford Bust and the Droeshout Print collated)
By FORD MADOX BROWN
By permission of the Manchester Corporation Art Gallery



THE 'VISIONARY' PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE

By WILLIAM BLAKE, 1804

By permission of the Manchester Corporation Art Gallery

of a creditable likeness of our national poet, as a historian recasts some tale told long since in many fragments by old chroniclers'. According to William Rossetti, his son-in-law, this picture may be considered the first work done by the artist which shows a rather marked affinity to the methods of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which had been established in 1848. In a later manner Madox Brown executed two cartoons of the whole standing figure—to symbolize the Drama—intended for William Morris & Co. to execute in glass for Peterhouse College, Cambridge—a design—but the design was never carried into effect.

Finally, we have the realization by William Blake (Plate 47) of what he believed he saw when he was with Hayley at Felpham in 1801 to 1804—when he wandered on the sea-shore, and in his 'visions' he 'saw the sands peopled by a host of souls—majestic shadows'—and then he painted some of them: Shakespeare, Homer, Milton, Dante, and the rest—his only pictures in tempera, almost in monochrome, all now at Manchester.¹ Blake claimed to have held converse with Shakespeare on this occasion, and affirmed, with genuine if whimsical sincerity—'He is exactly like the old engraving which is said to be a bad one. I think it very good.'

And thus he unconsciously realized for himself the Droeshout Print, which he already knew well, and with it, visions from *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. But he never explained what Shakespeare, Homer, and the rest of the mighty throng were doing on Felpham sands. It will be seen that in this beautiful and sympathetic head Blake—himself not always a very precise draughtsman—has corrected the worst errors

¹ This, together with the eighteen other portraits of poets—English, foreign, and ancient—were intended for a frieze in William Hayley's library.

of Droeshout ; and that, while making it human, he insistently retains that clear line of the jaw from ear to chin, which recent enemies of the dramatist of Stratford fatuously declare to be a proof that Shakespeare wears a mask.

My demonstration is at an end, although there is much more I should like to set forth here. We have advanced, perforce, into what is, rather absurdly, the arena of controversy, although in regard to our two portraits there is really no room for dispute. We have considered these two portraits pretty closely, for they stand together and cannot fully be judged apart. We have followed them through 300 years, and, weighing all the circumstances and all the points which have been set forth, we may rest assured that we have had pictured to us, quite truly in the main, the presentment of Shakespeare, Man and Poet, as he lived and worked.

M. H. SPIELMANN.

THE TASK OF HEMINGE AND CONDELL

MY purpose this afternoon is to raise a few general questions—questions that every Shakespearian editor should ask about the First Folio, questions that will have to be answered before any finality can be hoped for in Shakespearian textual problems, though a complete answer to them is not yet possible. These questions are : What sort of ‘ copy ’ was placed at the printers’ disposal in 1623 ? Where did it come from ? What is the relation of quarto to folio texts in plays that have survived in both forms ? How close does any text, quarto or folio, bring us to Shakespeare’s original manuscripts ? The only contemporary evidence of a direct character that we possess on these matters is to be found in the oft-quoted words of Heminge and Condell’s preface ‘ to the great variety of readers ’, and, with your permission, I propose to begin this paper by quoting them yet again.

‘ It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu’d to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings ; But since it hath bin ordain’d otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publish’d them ; and so to haue publish’d them, as where (before) you were abus’d with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos’d them : euen those, are now offer’d to your view cur’d, and perfect of their limbes ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued thẽ. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His minde and hand went together :

And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our prouince, who onely gather his works, and giue them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him.'

These words were, I believe, carefully chosen ; certainly, considering their source and the occasion upon which they were penned, they cannot be too carefully weighed. In the first place, so it seems to me, the two players make quite clear what was their actual contribution to the Folio. The terms 'editor' and 'edit' were unknown at this period, but the function was well expressed by the phrase 'to set forth and oversee'. Now it is noteworthy that while Heminge and Condell lament that Shakespeare did not live himself to 'set forth and ouersee his owne writings', they nowhere claim to have performed that service for him. They profess merely to 'haue collected' the plays ; they 'onely gather his works, and giue them' to the reader ; or, as they phrase it in *The Epistle Dedicatorie*, 'we haue but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians'. Surely it is only common sense to take this thrice-repeated description of their function at its face value. If so, then Heminge and Condell were not 'editors', as has been commonly supposed, but merely 'gatherers' or 'collectors' of copy for the printers. Not that this task would be a light one, or free from the 'care and paine' of which the preface speaks. It would, perhaps, involve first of all the compilation of a provisional list of Shakespeare's plays based, we imagine, partly on the memory of old Heminge, who had known Shakespeare since 1594 if not before, partly on the evidence of handwriting in the prompt-books, and partly on the account-books of the Globe, which must have possessed documents, if they were not burnt in the fire of 1613, comparable with, though obviously very

different from, the 'Diary' of Master Henslowe. Again, it certainly involved the making of decisions, which are now seen to have been momentous, and must even then have been vexatious. There were decisions as to authorship ; for upon these turned the vital question of what plays the volume should contain. There were decisions also of a textual character, when two versions of the same play were available. But the selection made and the collection gathered, Heminge and Condell, if their preface be taken literally, left all the rest to the publishers and the printers. It may be, of course, that future investigation will discover unmistakable evidence of editorial manipulation in the Folio. But until the evidence is forthcoming, it is safer, I suggest, to assume that the Folio gives us an unedited text. In other words, the burden of proof lies upon those who attribute to Heminge and Condell anything in the volume beyond the two prefaces, signed with their names—and of course the labour of choosing the texts, for which we can never be grateful enough to them. Why, indeed, should it have occurred to them that editing was necessary ? The plays they handed over to the printers were with very few exceptions in an excellent condition to be acted—what more could 'the great variety of readers' require ?

And this brings me to my second point. Heminge and Condell were players—the chief players at the Globe Theatre. When, therefore, we ask where the 'copy' for the Folio came from, and what sort of 'copy' it was, the answer is, in general terms, obvious enough : it came from the Globe, and it was playhouse material which had been used for performance. Everything we know, so far, about the Folio texts themselves, tends to support this generalization, which, once it comes to be accepted as uncon-

testable by scholars, will be seen to carry with it certain corollaries of capital importance to Elizabethan and Shakespearian study. To mention but one. The First Folio is a collection of theatrical documents of the utmost value for the light which they throw upon methods of production in the Elizabethan and Jacobean playhouse. For here, unedited and in what is virtually typographical facsimile, we have good acting copy for thirty-six plays, belonging to a single company and ranging in date from about 1590 to 1612. It is true that stage-directions from the primary Shakespearian texts have often been quoted by historians of the stage in illustration of their various theories; but the full significance of the Folio as a collection of prompt-books has, I think, been grasped by no specialist on stage-history as yet, unless it be Mr. Crompton Rhodes, who is to address you on 'The First Folio and the Elizabethan stage', and to whom I therefore leave further treatment of the subject.

To return then to the 'collectors' and their preface. What have they to say upon our other two questions: the question of the relation between quarto and folio texts, and between quarto and folio texts on the one hand and Shakespeare's original manuscripts on the other? They have nothing directly to say upon either question, but it is clear that they had them in mind as they wrote, and their words, if properly interpreted, materially assist in the answering of them. Unfortunately, owing partly to human proneness to think the worst of human nature and partly to a misapprehension of the facts, the words have been anything but properly interpreted for the past 300 years. 'And so to haue publish'd them,' if I may repeat the crucial passage, 'as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and de-

formed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them : euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together : And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers.' As typical of editorial opinion down to the end of the nineteenth century, we may quote the comment which stands in the preface to *The Cambridge Shakespeare* of 1863. 'The natural inference to be drawn from this statement', the Cambridge editors declare, 'is that all the separate editions of Shakespeare's plays were "stolen", "surreptitious", and "imperfect", and that all those published in the Folio were printed from the author's own manuscripts.' And this inference, they continue, must be false, seeing that 'it can be proved to demonstration that several of the plays in the Folio were printed from earlier Quarto editions, and that in other cases the Quarto is . . . of higher authority'. Further, they proceed to argue that, since Heminge and CondeLL 'are thus convicted of a *suggestio falsi* in one point, it is not improbable that they may have been guilty of the like in another. Some of the plays may have been printed not from Shakespeare's own manuscripts but from transcripts made from them for the use of the theatre.' But having gone so far, and feeling that they had said overmuch in depreciation of those 'whom as having been Shakespeare's friends and fellows, we like to think of as honourable men', they excuse the 'deception' as arising 'from want of practice in composition and from the wish to write a smart preface'! The lameness of this apology, however, only serves to make the case against

Shakespeare's fellows seem blacker than ever ; and when we turn to the title of the Folio—a point which appears to have been overlooked until quite recently—and find that all ' Mr. William Shakespeare's comedies, histories, and tragedies ' are therein declared to be ' published according to the true original copies ', or to the sub-title, wherein they are described as ' truely set forth, according to their first originall ', the case begins to look very black indeed. Nevertheless, although the words of the players undoubtedly lend colour to, if they did not actually suggest, statements on the part of the printers and publishers which these latter must have known to be false, it is pleasant to think that in 1923, when we are feeling particularly grateful to Heminge and Condell, their veracity is no longer seriously open to question.

Everything hinges upon what they understood, or meant us to understand, by the ' diuers stolne and surreptitious copies ' with which, as they assert, the public had been previously ' abus'd '. And to get at their meaning we must consider the history of Shakespearian publication up to 1623, from the point of view of those responsible for the custody of the prompt-books at the Globe. But until Professor Alfred Pollard began publishing his researches in 1909, it was impossible to do this, for the simple reason that the facts of that history were unknown. What we know now, and what the Cambridge editors of 1863 did not know, is that the epithets ' stolne and surreptitious ' were quite inapplicable, and were not in the least likely to have been applied, to those quartos which Heminge and Condell handed over to the printers as copy in 1623, and for the original publication of which they themselves had in all probability, in part at least, been responsible. Other quartos, which (though for some

reason not used as copy for the Folio) nevertheless present us with texts as good if not better than the corresponding texts of 1623—I mean quartos like *Hamlet* (1604), *Richard III* (1597), and *2 Henry IV* (1600)—may be placed in the same respectable class. On the other hand, there are suspicious circumstances about *Lear* (1608), *Troilus* (1609), and perhaps *Othello* (1622) which need clearing up before a final verdict can be pronounced. Yet, supposing the verdict to be favourable in the case of these three, there remains a group of ‘bad’ texts connected with Shakespeare’s name large enough amply to excuse the outburst concerning ‘stolne and surreptitious copies’. First and foremost come those pre-eminently ‘bad’ Quartos: *Romeo* (1597), *Henry V* (1600), *The Merry Wives* (1602), *Hamlet* (1603), and with them we should probably class *Pericles* (1608), which was, like the others, clearly ‘maimed and deformed’ and which Heminge and Condell refused to include in the Folio, even though they could supply no ‘good’ text to take its place. A sixth text of the same kind, we cannot doubt, was a quarto of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* which, though no longer extant, almost certainly preceded the ‘good’ text of 1598. Further there were on the market, always ready to appear at moments awkward to the Globe company, certain pre-Shakespearian versions of Shakespeare’s plays, such as *The First and Second Part of the Contention*, *The Troublesome reign of King John* (also in two parts), and *The Famous Victories of Henry V*. Nor does this complete the tale, for the discovery by Mr. Pollard and Mr. Greg in 1907 of a volume of plays by or attributed to Shakespeare, printed in 1619 at the same printing-house that produced the Folio, gives, as Mr. Pollard himself has remarked in his Tercentenary lecture to the British Academy, a humorous point to Heminge and

Condell's denunciation of 'the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors', which would never have been suspected had Jaggard's shady enterprise of 1619 not been brought to the light.

There were then six 'maimed and deformed' and some five pre-Shakespearian versions of Shakespeare's plays in print, together with an impudent volume, containing ten plays, professing to be Shakespearian, three of them being reprints of 'good' quartos, five reprints of the 'maimed' or unrevised texts just mentioned, and the other two entirely spurious. Thus, between 1594 and 1619 'the great variety of readers' had been constantly 'abus'd' by 'the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors', and the aged Heminge, as he looked back over the whole sorry history, a history in which scoundrelly members of his own company of actors as well as shady publishers and printers had played their 'iniurious' parts, might well have used stronger words than he did to express his feelings. That he, and Henry Condell, intended to lump the 'good' quartos together with the others as all 'stolne and surreptitious' is not to be supposed for a moment. Why should they? They had themselves probably, in most cases, been responsible for their publication, often enough because their hands were forced by the appearance or threatened appearance of some spurious version. They knew that the copy which they had delivered to the printers on these occasions had been authoritative prompt-books, sometimes in the handwriting of Shakespeare himself. And when, therefore, they handed over the same plays (this time in print and with the latest playhouse alterations upon them) a second time to the printers in 1623, they were doing what seemed to them to be not only inevitable but also perfectly correct.

But what of the second 'natural inference' drawn

by the Cambridge editors, viz. that all the plays 'published in the Folio were printed from the author's own manuscript'? Well, if Shakespeare's two fellows be acquitted on the first count, we believe they should also be acquitted on the second. If, as we have assumed, their function was limited to collecting the copy for publication, they are not to be blamed for the pretensions of the Folio title and sub-title. And, taken by themselves, do the references to Shakespeare's ease in composition and his unblotted papers afford any real ground for such an inference? On the contrary, now the point of the 'stolne and surreptitious' passage is clear, is it not far more 'natural' to interpret those references in connexion, not with the copy for the Folio, but with the 'maimed and deformed' texts? In other words, Heminge and Condell, in complaining of the wrong done to Shakespeare by the publication of his plays in defective texts, are led on by a natural transition of thought to compare those texts with the fair unblotted pages of his manuscripts which had so often lain beneath their eyes, as players and book-holders at the Globe.

It is unnecessary, in a course of lectures celebrating the Tercentenary of the First Folio, to apologize for this lengthy defence of those who signed the preface to that famous volume. But my defence is not merely an act of piety. Heminge and Condell's prefaces are the title-deeds of our greatest national possession; and our views upon the integrity of the Folio texts depend in a large measure upon the views which we believe Heminge and Condell themselves took of their own responsibilities. For myself, I do not doubt that their standards, according to the lights of their age in such matters, were as high as their motives appear to have been disinterested. Those who solemnly declare that they have done

their 'office to the dead' 'without ambition either of selfe-profit, or fame : onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, and Fellow alive, as was our Shakespeare' ; those who speak with indignation of 'the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors' that had foisted many spurious and imperfect texts upon the public ; those who made mention of the 'care and pain' which their office laid upon them—are surely to be given at least the benefit of the doubt. The claim of the title-page that the plays were printed 'according to the true originall copies' must be regarded, then, as publishers' puff, and is not to be laid at their door. We know that the 'true originall copy' was not always available for publication. That was their misfortune, and ours ; but assuredly they are not to be blamed for publishing the second best, where they could not lay hands upon the best itself.

It is now time to turn from the collectors to the collection, and to inquire what criteria Heminge and Condell employed in estimating the goodness of a text, and what sources of supply they could fall back upon when the true originals failed them. It is not difficult to guess at the idea of a really good text in the opinion of the presiding dignitaries of the Globe Theatre : it was a text which had been used as a playbook at the Globe. Accordingly, most of the texts supplied to the printers in 1623 were, we cannot doubt, prompt-books from the theatre. And such prompt-books might be of two kinds at least, namely, manuscript prompt-books, and printed prompt-books, which had taken the place of the manuscripts from which they were printed. Occasionally, perhaps, there might be prompt-books of an abnormal kind, prompt-books made for some special purpose. These would generally be abridgements, and would therefore partake of the character

of those 'maimed and deformed copies' which the collectors had unhesitatingly condemned.¹ We can feel pretty sure that where a full Globe text was available it would be preferred to any other form of prompt-book, abridged or not. In addition to prompt-books the theatre library would contain other manuscript material such as players' parts and prompter's plots, of which I shall speak later. But it is not likely that it offered possibilities to the collectors beyond these. Transcripts were expensive luxuries, and withal dangerous ones, since every additional copy of a popular play increased the chances of piracy, so that it is probable that for most plays there was only one copy, which was at once author's manuscript, prompt-book, and allowed-book with the censor's authorization. And outside the theatre library we need hardly trouble to look. Some have pretended that Heminge and Condell pieced out the imperfections of the playhouse by means of 'transcripts in private hands'. No evidence has been adduced as to the existence of such transcripts in 1623. Moseley, indeed, in 1647 speaks of the actors in Beaumont and Fletcher's plays transcribing 'what they acted' for 'private friends'.² But this is a quarter of a century later.

Passing on to consider, as far as is possible in the present state of our knowledge, the various types of text found in the Folio, let us first of all take those plays which were printed from existing quartos. Of these there are eight: *Much Ado*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard II*, *Henry IV* (part 1), *Titus Andronicus*,

¹ The word 'abridgement' is here used, not of texts (like the F. *Hamlet*) slightly compressed for performance at the Globe, but of texts drastically cut down to half or two-thirds their original length in order presumably to meet theatrical conditions other than those at the Globe.

² 'Epistle' to First Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher.

Romeo and Juliet. With the exception of *Titus Andronicus*, for which the Folio supplies a scene not found in the Quarto, the 1623 reprints are demonstrably inferior to the original quartos. And this for three reasons: (i) because the Folio printers generally used a late edition of the Quarto, and in the absence of proof-reading each edition was inevitably more corrupted by compositors' errors than the last; (ii) because the Folio printers themselves introduced a large number of fresh misprints into the text, some 20 per cent. of the misprints in any given Folio text of this kind having, I estimate, been introduced for the first time in 1623; and (iii) because, as a rule at any rate, the Folio text was not a mere reprint of the Quarto, but a reprint of a copy of the Quarto which had been used in the theatre for the purposes of performance, or, to be more exact, of a copy of the Quarto which had been 'corrected' by another copy belonging to the theatre. For example, in *Richard II* the Folio omits fifty lines, taken from eight different places, and the omission has been explained by Mr. Pollard on the supposition that the prompter or the players had made eight 'cuts' in speeches which seemed to them over-long or involved.¹ Nevertheless, it is the changes made in the playhouse, to which the Folio reprints bear testimony, that alone give interest to these texts, since such alterations, especially when they affect stage-directions or the distribution of speeches, often furnish quite important information about the history or customs of the theatre. Thus, to take a simple instance, when in *Much Ado* the word 'Musicke' which the Quarto prints among the entries at II. iii. 35 becomes changed in the Folio to 'Iacke Wilson', we learn that at certain performances between 1600 and 1623 Balthazar's

¹ See A. W. Pollard, *King Richard II. A New Quarto*, pp. 90, 99.

song was sung by a player or singer of a not uncommon name. Further, once the presence of playhouse alterations in a text is established, the question arises how far this influence extends and even whether some of the more attractive changes were made with the approval of Shakespeare himself. This is, of course, a vital question for editors, and there are not wanting persons to-day who, taking their stand upon these playhouse 'corrections', go so far as to assert that a Folio text must *ipso facto* be more authoritative than a Quarto one.

The problem has, of course, to be worked out separately for each of the eight texts, but we can come to close quarters with it here by taking a single example as an illustration. The play I select is *Love's Labour's Lost*, over which editors have exhibited a strange hesitancy, the late Mr. H. C. Hart—a most cautious mind—actually reaching the conclusion not only that the Folio version was printed from an independent manuscript but also that it provided the better text of the two. Fortunately it is possible to prove briefly and indisputably that the Folio printers used a copy of the 1598 Quarto, the only 'good' edition before 1623. Looseness of type is a glaring typographical characteristic of the Quarto, and one out of many instances of this slovenly workmanship occurs at v. i. 56, where we find the word 'venewe' spaced out as 'vene we', an accident, be it noted, which originated in the printing-house and had nothing whatever to do with the original manuscript. When, therefore, the same error crops up in the Folio text, it becomes obvious that the compositors in 1623 had a copy of the Quarto before them in setting up their type and that they took the split 'venewe' as two separate words. Nevertheless, there are differences between the two texts, striking differences, some of which cannot possibly have

originated in Jaggard's printing-house. It is these which persuaded Hart to take the editorial plunge he did, and a more recent critic, Professor Charlton, to suppose that Heminge and Condell must have 'very casually' edited a copy of the Quarto before handing it over to the printers. Once the Folio variants, however, are brought together and classified, it is not difficult to discover their origin or to determine their authority. To cut short the story, which I shall have to tell at length elsewhere,¹ it is quite clear that some person in the theatre, with a performance in view and perhaps the necessity for making out player's parts and a prompter's 'plot', had read through the Quarto used by Jaggard in 1623, and had made haphazard alterations here and there. What specially interested him was the distribution of speeches in II. i—and no wonder; for, owing to a little slip of the pen on Shakespeare's part, at one point in this scene, it is quite impossible to make out who is speaking or what is happening. It is therefore most instructive to find that what has puzzled all the editors of this play, also puzzled the playhouse scribe responsible for the Folio alterations. His redistribution makes the dialogue just actable, but does nothing to render it more dramatically appropriate. In a word, he either did not or could not consult the author of the play himself; and his alterations accordingly lack all authority. As I have said, the problem must be worked out for each of the eight reprint texts separately; but I shall myself be surprised if the solution for the other seven differs materially from that which I have just outlined for *Love's Labour's Lost*.

The remaining twenty-eight plays of the Folio, which, with one formal though not real exception,

¹ See pp. 186-91, *Love's Labour's Lost* (the New Shakespeare), which appeared after this lecture was delivered.

were printed not from quartos but from some kind of manuscript, may be grouped in either of two ways. They may, in the first place, be considered in relation to previously printed texts. Thus there are five plays—*Henry IV* (part ii), *Troilus*, *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Othello*—for which quartos, of the type which Mr. Pollard has provisionally labelled ‘good’, were already in existence, though the ‘collectors’ made no use of them; and one—*Richard III*—for the printing of which a good quarto was indeed used, but only after it had been so elaborately ‘corrected’ by comparison with a playhouse manuscript supplied from the Globe that it was virtually a different text. Next there are two—*The Merry Wives* and *Henry V*—which had only appeared in ‘bad’ quarto form before 1623, and four others—*The Taming of the Shrew*, *King John*, and the second and third parts of *Henry VI*—of which different and largely pre-Shakespearian versions had alone been printed. Lastly, we have the sixteen plays which were published for the first time in the Folio. This grouping is obvious and purely formal, and the only section of it which need claim our attention for a moment is the first, for it is there and there only that the choice of the ‘collectors’ becomes interesting. Indeed, it is one of the prettiest of textual problems to decide why Heminge and Condell thought fit to reject these five quartos, while they admitted the eight we have just been dealing with. Here is no place for entering closely into so large and complicated a problem, which for the rest will have to be tackled piecemeal if a permanent solution is to be reached. But if we find, as according to the suggestions made earlier in this paper we may expect to find, that the reason why these quartos were not acceptable was because they were known to have been printed from manuscripts which were not of the ordinary Globe

type, then behind the initial problem there arise a number of further problems no less interesting and certainly no less difficult. For instance, the 1622 *Othello* was certainly printed from some kind of prompt-book, but to what theatre and to what company did this prompt-book belong, if not to the Globe and the King's Men? Similar questions arise in connexion with the quartos of *Lear* and *Troilus*.

But it is when we come to *Hamlet* that the question becomes a critical issue of the first importance; for in the Second Quarto of *Hamlet* we have a text which, though in the judgement of many greatly superior to the Folio version and far closer to Shakespeare's original, is strangely unlike ordinary playhouse copy from the Globe, if the general run of Folio texts gives us any idea at all of Globe playhouse copy. One of the most remarkable contrasts between the two texts is to be found in the punctuation, which differs fundamentally from beginning to end of the play. That of the Folio is heavy, the pauses are long and frequent; it is essentially a colon-system, rhetorical in its purpose. That of the Second Quarto, on the other hand, is light, colons are rare and almost invariably denote stage-business or emotional disturbance when they occur; it is essentially a semicolon system, dramatic in its purpose.¹ Whatever be the cause of this difference, two things are clear: first, it was not due to the printers, since on the one hand there is evidence in the First Quarto that the Folio punctuation was in existence in 1603 and was then being used at the Globe, and on the other hand the pointing of the Second Quarto is so exquisite that it is absurd to suppose it the invention of the rather amateurish compositor who was responsible for that text;

¹ See the present writer's *Copy for Hamlet*, 1603, &c. (Alex. Moring), pp. 6-7.

secondly, the systems cannot both be Shakespeare's, since they not only frequently provide us with entirely different rhythms, but even sometimes with different interpretations of the same passage. Now variation in meaning is an important matter, even in the low levels of a Shakespearian play : but when it affects a passage like that beginning ' What a piece of work is a man ', which is perhaps the most famous prose-speech in the canon ; and when to variation in meaning is added a complete contrast in tone and rhythm, it becomes a very important matter indeed. The Folio text, which modern editors have all more or less adopted, decorates this speech of Hamlet's with no less than six notes of exclamation.¹ It is a piece of declamation and its rhythm is at once jerky and monotonous, the voice being required to execute a series of capers. In the Second Quarto version there is no exclamation mark of any kind ; the tone is meditative and the thought rises gradually to a great climax, marked by a colon, and then falls suddenly to a brooding close, in which the ideas are uttered spasmodically and are interspersed with pauses of silence. But the two versions must be allowed to speak for themselves. Please note, as you hear them, the new and in my view entirely admirable turn which the Quarto text gives to the sense. First, then, the declamatory Folio :

' What a piece of work is a man ! how noble in reason ! how infinite in faculty ! in form and moving how express and admirable ! in action, how like an angel ! in apprehension how like a god ! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals ; and yet to me, what is this quintessence of dust ? '

¹ For many of these the compositor, after the fashion of the time, used queries. I have printed exclamation-marks in my rendering of the Folio text and have modernized the spelling in both versions.

And then the brooding Quarto :

‘ What a piece of work is a man, how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties, in form and moving, how express and admirable in action, how like an angel in apprehension, how like a god : the beauty of the world ; the paragon of animals ; and yet to me, what is this quintessence of dust.’

I submit that differences of this kind raise problems of a far-reaching character, problems not merely of textual selection, but of theatrical history and even possibly of Shakespearian biography. For, to take only one point, it is in *Hamlet* that Shakespeare utters his views on stage-elocution, and if we accept the light punctuation of the Second Quarto as the representation in print of that pronunciation ‘ trippingly on the tongue ’ which the Prince of Denmark commends, what are we to make of the heavy rhetorical punctuation of the Folio ? Did the players, the ‘ robustious periwig-pated fellows ’, insist upon mouthing their speeches and tearing their passions to tatters ? Is the contrast between the two texts a relic of a battle of the colons at the Globe ? And if the Folio *Hamlet* was played by the King’s Men, what company was found ready and able to play the exquisite Second Quarto text ? But we are digressing, and must return to our main theme, the classification of the Folio texts, and consider the other possible method of sorting out the twenty-eight plays not printed from earlier quartos.

This second method is far more difficult and hazardous than the first ; indeed, the time is not ripe even for an attempt to apply it, since it involves nothing less than the grouping of the texts according to the kind of manuscripts handled by the Folio composers. | It may, however, be not altogether idle to toy for a moment or two with theories and possibilities. As we have already said, the bulk of the manuscripts supplied by Heminge and Condell were probably

prompt-books from the Globe. But there may be many varieties of prompt-book. There may, to begin with, be prompt-books in the handwriting of more than one dramatist. If, for instance, by some trick of applied relativity, we could slip back for an hour to Jaggard's printing-chamber and examine the manuscripts, say, of *Henry VI* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, before they became defiled with printer's ink, how many hands and whose hands should we find therein? Further, seeing that the prompt-books came straight from the Globe, they would naturally bear traces of performance, and not necessarily traces dating in every case from before Shakespeare's retirement in 1612. The manuscripts had been ten years at the theatre without their natural guardian, and they had not all lain idle during that period, we may be sure. Some of them, therefore, we can hardly doubt, contain jottings or alterations made for post-Shakespearian performances. More disturbing thought still—some may have been, nay, in my opinion certainly had been, revised by post-Shakespearian dramatists. At this point perhaps some one will be wondering how it is possible to reconcile suppositions of this kind with the plea for Heminge and Condell's honesty of purpose with which we began. If so, let him put himself in their place and try to imagine what he would have done. There is, shall we say, a play called *Measure for Measure*, of which two-thirds are by Shakespeare, and the other third is very inferior material supplied by some later adapter. What is to be done with it? The character of the revision makes it impossible to strip the later additions from the original, and yet to refuse to publish the play would rob posterity of some very wonderful verse, to say nothing of dramatic situations of an interest quite unique in Shakespeare. Under the circumstances could the

'collectors' do anything else but send the manuscript to Jaggard with the rest? We imagine that situations of this kind had to be faced more than once or twice in the course of their labours, and that they would be likely to agree upon a rough-and-ready principle of selection. If it worked out at some such formula as: Every play we can find in the theatre library which has been worked at by Shakespeare, even if it only contains a single scene of his, ought to go into the volume—can anybody blame them or call them deceivers? Surely it was better to include too much than too little?—for we would 'lose no drop of the immortal man'.

Or again—to pursue another line of inquiry—let us suppose that no prompt copy of any kind could be found of a certain Shakespearian play, are the collectors to be condemned—or congratulated—if they attempted to reconstruct the missing text from other kinds of theatrical material? In any event, provided they could furnish Jaggard with the players' parts and the prompter's plot, there ought not to have been any difficulty in making up suitable copy for the Folio. Indeed, I have ventured to claim that the condition of at least two Folio texts, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, can only be satisfactorily explained if we suppose that some one 'assembled' them—to use a convenient term invented by Mr. Crompton Rhodes, a fellow-champion of the theory—by piecing together the players' parts and arranging them in scenes with the aid of the 'plot'. A player's part, of course, consisted of the speeches belonging to a particular actor, copied out, with the cues, on to narrow strips of paper, which were then wound upon a reel; and a prompter's plot, often pasted on to a board so that it could be hung up in the tiring-room, was a page of foolscap on which the

names both of the characters and of the actors playing them were entered up, scene by scene, in order of their entry, the scenes being marked off by transverse lines ruled across the paper. In the players' parts you had, so to speak, the flesh and blood of the play, and in the 'plot' the skeleton. So, by combining the two elements, you got something which, but for one omission, came remarkably close to the original prompt-book. That omission, however, was a serious one; it was the nervous system of the play, the coming and going of the characters, the business and the movement on the stage, in a word the stage-directions.¹ Now the condition of the two texts just mentioned is exactly that which might be expected in a play 'assembled' in this fashion. The dialogue is completely bare of stage-directions, no internal entries or exits are marked, and each scene is headed with a list of the characters appearing at any point within it, the names being arranged in the order of entry, just as if they had been copied straight from a 'plot'. How oddly all this strikes the reader in a play full of action and bustle like *The Merry Wives* can only be appreciated by those who have studied the Folio version. It is not too much to say that no company, previously unfamiliar with the play, could perform the text as it stands. As the theory of assembled texts has recently been questioned and the counter-suggestion advanced that the peculiarities in *The Two Gentlemen* and *The Merry Wives* were due to 'an editor

¹ It is to be noted that stage-directions are to be found in Alleyn's 'Orlando' part at Dulwich, the only actor's 'part' which has come down to us; the theory above set forth involves, therefore, the assumption that the Chamberlain's Men made out their 'parts' on a system slightly different from that adopted by the Admiral's Men. On the other hand, the Orlando stage-directions are, so to speak, personal to Orlando and would afford an assembler of parts no help as to the going and coming of the characters.

attempting to follow, in rather blundering fashion, the scene arrangement of neo-classical plays',¹ it is perhaps worth noting that nothing could be more unlike the classical arrangement than the scene-division and headings of the two Folio texts. In the plays of a neo-classical dramatist like Ben Jonson scene-division is a purely *literary* convention, and marks the *entry* of one or more new characters, in addition to those already on the stage; in what are claimed to be the assembled texts of Shakespeare, scene-division is purely *theatrical* in nature and is determined by the *exit* of *all* the characters on the stage, in order to make room for another group. Further, what on the neo-classical theory has become of the stage-directions? Presumably there must have been stage-directions in the manuscript which the neo-classical editor so blunderingly edited. Are we to take it that he edited them away in a fit of absence of mind? Surely it is simpler to suppose that they are absent from the texts because Heminge and Condell were unable to furnish copy containing them. Moreover, it is always better to exhaust the theatrical possibilities before resorting to external agencies for an explanation of peculiarities in a dramatic text. And in this case players' parts and plots will account for everything.

The theory of assembled plays was first formulated to explain the bare texts which stand second and third in the Folio volume, and it was assumed that the assembling was carried out for publication by some one working in Jaggard's office. But I soon came to feel, partly under the stimulus of Mr. Crompton Rhodes's active imagination, that a simple textual reconstruction of this kind was not likely to have been hit upon for the first time as late as 1623, that indeed the Bad Quartos, as Mr. Pollard

¹ *Times Literary Supplement*, April 19, 1923.

and I contended some years ago, were probably partly at least in the nature of assembled texts, and that therefore there may be more of these texts both in and out of the Folio. In other words, supposing the original prompt-book lost, burnt in the fire of 1613, or drastically abridged for some performance at Court, a second full-length prompt-book might be constructed without difficulty out of the original players' parts. In this case, however, the assembling would be performed, not by a publisher's or printer's hack, but by a theatrical scribe who would not be likely to group all the entries together at the head of the scenes but would fill in the entries and exits in their proper places and add other directions during rehearsal or performance as the need for them became obvious. In short, the assembled text might in course of time become as well furnished with directions as the original prompt-book had been, which means that its origin and character would be less easy for the modern critic to detect through the medium of print. And there are yet other possibilities. For not only might players' parts develop into prompt-books, but abridged prompt-books might be filled out with the assistance of the original parts. Indeed, between the full prompt-book and the players' parts all sorts of permutations and combinations were possible. When I say possible, I do not mean that all these types will necessarily be found in the First Folio. We do not yet know what may be found therein. All we can tell is that the volume is not in any sense a unity in respect of the copy from which it was printed, except in so far as this copy all came from one theatre and was attached to the name of one playwright. It is a collection of plays each with its own theatrical history and consequently with its own textual peculiarities. This renders Shakespearian textual

investigation, at the moment, an extraordinarily fascinating and a somewhat adventurous undertaking, though I am sufficiently optimistic to believe that a generation hence the combined efforts of scholars will have been able to determine with fair probability the origin and nature of all the primary Shakespearian texts, whether in quarto or folio form.

Writing as recently as 1904, Dr. Furness delivered himself of the following sentence : ' Ever since the appearance, forty years ago, of *The Cambridge Shakespeare*, followed by its offspring, *The Globe Shakespeare*, this whole question of texts, with their varying degrees of excellence, which has endlessly vexed the Shakespearian world, has gradually subsided until now it is fairly lulled to a sleep as grateful as it is deep.'¹ That sleep, the sleep of ignorance and despair, was politely but effectively disturbed five years later by the publication of Professor Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, and though the pessimists on awakening may find the prospect of a resettlement of Shakespeare's text a disquieting one and try to make our flesh creep with talk of a quagmire of hypothesis ' in which even the good horse bibliography may well founder',² we can never return to the pre-Pollardian attitude. And if I were asked to say how the new criticism chiefly differs from the old, I should not think first of bibliographical methods, or of the way in which our accumulated knowledge of the Elizabethan theatre has been brought to bear upon textual problems ; I should single out something much simpler and more fundamental. It is that belief in the essential integrity of ordinary human nature which, like the English law, regards a man innocent until he has been proved guilty. Acting on this faith, Mr. Pollard has refused

¹ p. vi, *Love's Labour's Lost* (Variorum Shakespeare).

² *Times Literary Supplement*, April 19, 1923.

to believe three gloomy doctrines of the old criticism : (1) that all the quartos printed before 1623 were stolen and surreptitious ; (2) that most of the textual idiosyncrasies of the Quarto and Folio texts were to be put down to drunken aberrations of Elizabethan and Jacobean compositors ; and (3) that Heminge and Condell were either knaves in league with Jaggard to hoodwink a gullible public, or else fools who did not know how to pen a preface. And by refusing to believe these things he has rediscovered Shakespeare's manuscripts for us and much else besides, at which as yet we can only guess.

J. DOVER WILSON.

A SURVEY OF FIRST FOLIOS

IT is my endeavour in this paper to follow a path which none of my colleagues in this series of lectures are traversing. Others are attacking, with skill and courage of which they have already given proof, the intricate problems of bibliography in which the First Folio abounds. My own subject differs from theirs in dealing with hard, unromantic fact, mainly with figures and dates, in which conjecture, however ingenious and convincing, should find no place. An American biographer of Shakespeare lately wrote of me—he sent me a copy of his book—that I was better fitted for statistics than aesthetics. Certainly I make in this paper no excursions into the misty territory of the sublime or beautiful. I propose to describe outward and visible things—copies of this venerated volume which I have personally examined. I propose to trace the growth of the First Folio's reputation, to show the varied fates which have overtaken surviving exemplars, and to indicate the distribution of surviving copies.

I have served a long—I think I may say arduous—apprenticeship to this practical investigation. The present century had hardly begun when, having accepted an invitation from the Oxford University Press to supervise their preparation of a photographic reproduction of a copy of the First Folio then belonging to the late Duke of Devonshire, I hit upon the resolve to track down and describe all surviving copies. For three years I pursued the quest, and at the end of 1902 there was published, by way of appendix to the Oxford facsimile of the First Folio, a folio pamphlet of some forty-eight pages which

I entitled *A Census of Extant Copies with some Account of their History and Condition*. I think I was the first to use the word 'census' in a bibliographical relation. Somewhat similar endeavours had been made before under other names. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, the well-known bibliographer, was the original pioneer, and in his *Library Companion* of 1824, just on a hundred years ago, he enumerated twenty-six copies which he had seen, besides vaguely mentioning fourteen of which he knew by hearsay only. Some twenty years later a successful antiquarian bookseller, Thomas Rodd the younger, of Great Newport Street, London, prepared a manuscript list of eighty different copies, but his list never got into print and disappeared at his death in 1849. Henry George Bohn, the publisher of translations of the classics familiar to many generations of students, supplied a confused table of thirty-six copies, which he had traced in sale catalogues, to his edition of Lowndes's *Bibliographical Manual* of 1863. Bohn confuses counsel by mentioning the same copy more than once. Allibone in his *Dictionary of English Literature*, published at Philadelphia in 1870, did Bohn the honour of reproducing his list in the article on Shakespeare, adding dark hints of four copies which Bohn had overlooked. Meanwhile, the useful periodical, *Notes and Queries*, from 1852 onwards, printed scattered notes on individual copies which had come to the knowledge of its correspondents, and in 1897 my friend, Mr. Holcombe Ingleby, son of a Shakespearian critic of repute, published in *Notes and Queries* a list of as many as forty-five copies, to which readers were able to add descriptions of ten more. I am afraid Mr. Ingleby's report was at many points misleading. Some of the reputed owners of a First Folio had parted with their copies, or had only possessed a later folio, or none at all. But

Mr. Ingleby's work was the completest attempt at a census which was made before my own. A little had been done in America. Mr. Justin Winsor, the historian of the United States and Librarian at Harvard University, brought out in 1875 a description of nineteen copies which were at that date in America. One of these copies proved, on inquiry, a modern facsimile. In 1888 another American bibliographer, Mr. William H. Fleming, carefully described thirteen copies which at that date were in New York City.

It was in 1900 that I began a more comprehensive and ambitious quest. I sought to get into personal touch by means of circular, advertisement, or private correspondence, with all living owners of copies of the First Folio. Wherever I discovered a copy to be in existence in this country I usually sought personal access to it. I measured it, collated it page by page, and searched for its pedigree without always finding it. When the book was too far off, I got others to examine it for me on specified lines. The process was long and laborious, and from a financial point of view the reverse of profitable.

The hunt was exhilarating and not without adventure. Owners were usually hospitable. I extended my acquaintance among dukes and earls, many of whom then possessed First Folios which are theirs no longer. I had some opportunities of studying eccentric types of human antiquity. I remember how a high Tory squire, who lived in Mr. Justice Shallow's county of Gloucester and owned a good copy, was very visibly disturbed when, while I was a guest under his roof, I hesitated to share his breakfast of raw apples and ale. But my bibliographical travels enabled me to raise the number of extant copies to a total quite unsuspected by previous explorers. I obtained evidence of the present

survival of as many as one hundred and seventy-two copies scattered through the world, more than twice as many as had been suspected by earlier investigators. Since my results were published, thirteen copies of which I did not know have come to light, so that we may estimate one hundred and eighty to survive. Possibly the original edition consisted of eight or nine hundred copies. Some six or seven hundred, therefore, have vanished, yet few volumes of the same age of three hundred years survive in greater number. Probably forty times as many copies of the Shakespeare First Folio exist to-day as first editions of two other famous seventeenth-century publications, namely, Walton's *Compleat Angler*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. On the whole, Time has sagaciously treated Heminge's and Condell's venture better than it has treated any other printed piece of literature.

I

A very small number of surviving copies of the First Folio are in their original, unsophisticated form. Time has not worked miracles, and most of the surviving copies bear disfiguring marks of age and rough usage. As a rule the preliminary leaves, especially the fly-leaf containing Ben Jonson's lines on the portrait, the title-page, and the last leaf, have been damaged or altogether lost. Not one copy in twenty retains the original fly-leaf, and only one in every fifteen copies possesses the last leaf and title-page uninjured. An eighteenth-century critic attributes much of the discoloration which commonly characterized the book even in his day, to the fact that it was a customary possession of country houses during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was ordinarily kept on the table in the hall at which the household was wont to take its meals. The

eighteenth-century observer claimed often to detect scraps of food, especially thin flakes of pie-crust, between the leaves of copies that he examined, and assigned many stains to spilt drink.

In my Census I described in as full detail as was possible the condition of each copy, whether or no it were perfect. If a copy were imperfect, I indicated the details of its imperfection. I classified my results. Of the one hundred and seventy copies, I suffered only fourteen to enter division 'A' of my First Class as wholly perfect and unrestored. I placed twenty-nine in division 'B' of the First Class, as being substantially well preserved, but having undergone some repair. My largest class was the Second, in which I placed no fewer than sixty-eight copies, from many of which pages were actually missing or had been replaced in facsimile. My Third and last Class, which included seriously defective copies, I entitled 'fragmentary'. Mere scraps of a few pages I ignored.

Separate single leaves and sometimes separate plays complete in themselves are often offered for sale and are employed to supply gaps in defective copies. In a recent catalogue as many as nine separate plays, complete in themselves, extracted from First Folios were offered for sale at £63 for each item. It still seems possible to reconstruct a full copy in this piecemeal fashion. A week or two ago I heard from a correspondent in Washington that he had got together, by dint of persistent search in all parts of the world, eight hundred and ninety-eight out of the nine hundred and eight leaves of which the perfect volume originally consisted. The leaves, my correspondent tells me, are of all shapes and sizes, and he asks me whether I should admit into a new edition of my Census this shapeless conglomeration of scraps. I am not sure about my answer. To judge

from the frequency with which scraps of copies appear in booksellers' shops, it would seem that a century or so ago there were a fair number of copies of which my Census takes no account, in very careless or reckless hands.

For more than a century and a half, from 1750-1900, the repairing of injured copies of the First Folio which lacked pages here and there has engaged much artful, not to say crafty, industry. About 1780 Steevens wrote :

‘ Every possible adulteration has of late years been practised in fitting up copies of this book for sale. When leaves have been wanting they have been reprinted with battered types, and foisted into vacancies, without notice of such defects and the remedies applied to them. When the title has been lost, a spurious one has been fabricated, with a blank space left for the head of Shakespeare, afterwards added from the second, third, or fourth impression. To conceal these flaws thick vermilion lines have been usually drawn over the edges of the engravings, which would otherwise have betrayed themselves when let into a supplemental page, however craftily it was lined at the back and discoloured with tobacco-water till it had assumed the true *jaune antique*. Sometimes leaves have been inserted from the Second Folio, and, in a known instance, the entire play of *Cymbeline*, the genuine date at the end of it (1632) having been altered into 1623.’

Through the early years of the nineteenth century an accomplished painter in water-colours and a miniaturist named John Harris devoted his skill to imitating with his pen the type of the First Folio and he filled gaps in defective copies with autograph facsimiles which it is difficult to distinguish from the original pages. Officials of the British Museum, and even Harris himself, are reported to have been at times unable to distinguish original leaves from his facsimiles. He devoted himself so assiduously to this facsimile-forging kind of labour, that at the

age of sixty-six he went blind. He was admitted into the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution for aged Freemasons at Croydon, where he died in 1873 at the age of eighty-two. Harris's magical skill increases the need of wariness in dogmatizing about the perfect state of almost any extant First Folio.

Nowadays it should be acknowledged that defects are as a rule admitted by booksellers. No endeavours are made to represent imperfect copies that have been repaired and partly 'faked' to be in a perfect and original state.

II

That the First Folio on its appearance received a warm welcome from enlightened public opinion is clear from the enthusiasm of the prefatory verses, which include not only Ben Jonson's elegiac eulogy, but the pedestrian eulogies of three university graduates. The endeavour of the actor-editors, John Heminge and Henry Condell, to rescue from urgent peril of decay and oblivion the unprinted manuscripts of the greater part of Shakespeare's work was clearly estimated by contemporaries at its true worth. The contemporary tribute to the work of the editors from the pen of a minor poet which Sir Israel Gollancz recently discovered is new proof of the sort of welcome which the volume received on publication. Henry Salusbury there congratulates his good friends, Heminge and Condell, on raising 'from the womb of earth a richer mine' than any discovered by Cortez and his Spanish comrades who first explored America. That all the eight or nine hundred copies of the original edition had been sold off before 1632 is clear from the issue of a Second Folio in that year. There followed thirty years of political tumult in the country, and dramatic literature lost its vogue amid the competing dis-

traction of Civil War. The Third Folio came out in 1663, with a re-issue the next year. At the end of another twenty-one years there came out in 1685 the Fourth Folio, the last collected edition of Shakespeare's works in the seventeenth century. Throughout the century numerous new editions of separate plays in quarto proved that interest in Shakespeare was steadily growing among readers.

No special value seems to have attached to the First Folio as compared with its three successors until the eighteenth century was well advanced. During Charles II's reign the then recent Third Folio was deemed a more desirable possession than the First. Many unsold copies were rumoured to have been destroyed in the Fire of London, so that a fictitious scarcity attached to those surviving. The curators of the Bodleian Library disposed of their copy of the First Folio in 1663 and replaced it by the just published Third Folio. In the same year the diarist Samuel Pepys, who was a business-like collector of books, purchased the new Third Folio, but when the Fourth Folio came out twenty-one years later he disposed of his Third Folio and acquired a Fourth. There was a general predilection even among connoisseurs for the latest edition of works of repute, and no conception of rarity seemed to attach to a printed version of early date. Bibliographical scholarship was then scarcely in being, and textual merit, if it were considered at all in the case of play-books, was put to the credit of the latest rather than to that of the earliest edition. Through the early part of the eighteenth century, the new custom grew of republishing Shakespeare's collected plays with more or less editorial elucidation, and that practice tended for a generation to prejudice the reputation and pecuniary value of all the unannotated seventeenth-century Folios.

III

When I was census-making, it was my hope—rather a wild one—to trace the history of the ownership of the copies, from as near the date of the first publication in 1623 as was possible, down to our own times.

No copy seems to have remained in the family of the original purchaser of 1623 through all the succeeding generations. Most copies changed hands many times in the course of ages. It was rarely possible to ascertain the successive owners. Signatures of owners or their book-plates, armorial bearings stamped on bindings, notes in old auction or booksellers' catalogues, traditions current among present owners, gave at times useful clues. But these indications were often missing. Modern bindings had obliterated valuable evidence. I drew many blanks. As a rule I could only discover the last two or three owners. I left, in most instances, gaps of varying lengths unfilled.

Of only one copy can I claim to tell the full story of its ownership from start to finish. The Sheldon copy, with which I first met when it belonged to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, satisfied this ambition. It was purchased near the date of publication at the then high price of £3 by one William Sheldon, a country gentleman, whose fine manor house of Weston lay in Warwickshire, some eight miles south of Stratford-on-Avon. He was a man of cultivation, who encouraged weaving and caused to be woven splendid tapestry maps of various parts of England, some of which still survive. His son, Ralph Sheldon of Weston, who succeeded to the ownership of this copy, was born in the year in which the First Folio was published and he greatly prized its possession. He was a bibliophile and an antiquary, and of such

remarkable integrity, charity, and hospitality, so we learn, that he usually went by the name of 'the great Sheldon'. The Sheldon First Folio was bound in leather stamped on both sides with the arms of the Sheldon family. The copy remained in the possession of lineal descendants until 1781, when the Sheldon library was sold at knock-out prices. This First Folio passed with two other unnamed books to a bookseller of the City of London for the modest sum of £2 4s. It was thereupon acquired by a person whom students of the First Folio should always respect, John Horne Tooke. This Radical politician was born in 1736 and died in 1819 at the age of eighty-three. He varied his prolonged activities as a Radical political agitator with an equally prolonged study of philology and literature. He read Shakespeare very closely in the Sheldon copy of the First Folio, which he had purchased in 1781. In the margins he inserted a large number of notes, some of which interpreted difficult words, while others corrected what he imagined to be misprints or suggested new readings. With friends of his own political way of thinking Tooke discussed varied philological problems at the house of one of them who lived at Purley, and he published an account of these discussions in a work called *The Diversions of Purley* (1805). In the second volume of that book there appeared from Tooke's pen this statement, which is the clearest assertion of the textual value of the First Folio that had been made up to that time :

' The First Folio in my opinion, is the only edition worth regarding. And it is much to be wished, that an edition of Shakespear were given *literatim* according to the First Folio : which is now become so scarce and dear that few persons can obtain it. For, by the presumptuous licence of the dwarfish commentators, who are for ever cutting him down to their own size, we risk the loss of Shakespear's

genuine text ; which that Folio assuredly contains ; notwithstanding some few slight errors of the press, which might be noted, without alteration.'

Scholarly bibliographers of our own time will find some things in this statement to question, but Horne Tooke's bold commendation of the First Folio is on the whole quite sound.

Tooke's chief interlocutor in *The Diversions of Purley*, which is written dialogue-wise, is called by the initial 'F'. 'F.' was Tooke's friend, Sir Francis Burdett, then Radical M.P. for Westminster. It was to Sir Francis that Tooke addressed his eulogy of the First Folio, and he records the terms of Sir Francis's assent. In 1810 Tooke rewarded his friend's acquiescence by presenting the volume to him, and Sir Francis, on his death in 1844, bequeathed it to his son and heir, Sir Robert. Sir Robert died an undistinguished bachelor in 1880, and left the volume to his youngest sister, Angela, the eminent philanthropist, who became a peeress in her own right as Baroness Burdett-Coutts. It was while Lady Burdett-Coutts owned the volume that I was introduced to it, and I had the satisfaction of discovering in it, apart from Tooke's manuscript memoranda, an interesting typographic peculiarity which threw light on the editors' original plan of arranging the plays. The copy remained the property of the Baroness until her death in 1907, and then it passed to her husband, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, who owned it until his death in 1921. Next year it was sold at the Burdett-Coutts sale for the sum of £5,400, and became the property of Mr. Folger of New York.

Of no other copy is, I think, the pedigree so complete. I do not repine over the last step in the descent ; which is of late years the usual one for privately owned copies in this country to take.

Another pedigree which has been traced by

Mr. Falconer Madan, formerly Bodley's Librarian, is only, I think, second in interest, and the latest step is, it seems to me, on the whole rather more satisfactory than in the case of the Sheldon copy. Although Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the University Library at Oxford, had small respect for stage plays and regarded play books as 'baggage' books, none the less by an arrangement which he entered into with the Stationers' Company, his new foundation received a copy of the First Folio on its first issue. On the shelves of the Bodleian this copy remained till 1664, and during those forty years undergraduates, or perhaps graduates, studied the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* so assiduously as to blacken the pages containing that piece with their finger-marks. In 1664 the curators of the Bodleian parted with the volume to an Oxford bookseller in order to acquire the Third Folio in the 1664 re-issue. No information is accessible respecting the fortunes of the volume for the next forty years. That gap I cannot fill. But early in the eighteenth century this Bodleian copy found its way to a country house in Derbyshire, and there it was discovered by Mr. Madan, then Bodley's Librarian, some two centuries later. The owner was willing to restore it to the Bodleian, naturally at a price. The sum of £3,000 was subscribed, with the result that this copy re-entered the Bodleian Library on March 31, 1906. There is no reason to fear that it will ever leave its present home.

Other extant copies have veteran associations of varying dates with owners of historic note, although there are long gaps in the ascertainable descent of the volumes. The most interesting copy with strictly contemporary associations which came under my notice was a presentation copy from the printer of the volume, William Jaggard, to a friend, Augustine

Vincent, an official of the Herald's Office. A contemporary inscription on the title-page, which I reproduced in my *Life of Shakespeare* (the writing is in the hand of the recipient of the volume, Vincent), runs: *Ex Dono Willelmi Jaggard Typographi anno 1623*. The story of Jaggard's relation with Vincent is curious. The Heralds' Office at the time was anything but a cave of harmony. The officers occupied much of their time in rancorous controversy with one another. One official, Ralph Brooke, was especially quarrelsome. He was constantly claiming to expose the ignorance of his colleagues. Rather imprudently, as it proved, he induced Jaggard to print for him a work of his own, *A Catalogue of Nobility*, in 1622, a year before the publication of the First Folio. His colleague, Vincent, pronounced the work to be a mass of errors. Brooke had to admit a good many faults, but contrived to get out a corrected edition with another printer in which he laid the blame for the mistakes in the first edition on the first printer, Jaggard. In 1623, next year, Vincent retorted in a book entitled *A Discovery of Brookes Errors*, which Jaggard printed for him. To this book Jaggard himself contributed a preface, denouncing in no measured terms Brooke's reflections on his professional capacity. The double assault silenced Brooke. We hear no more of him. By way of celebrating their joint triumph over Brooke, Jaggard, a few months later, presented Vincent, his comrade-in-arms, with an early copy of his imposing venture of the First Folio. The volume still boasts the original binding on which remain stamped Vincent's arms with his punning motto: AUGUSTA VINCENTI, 'Proud things to the conqueror'. The First Folio justly deserved the designation of AUGUSTA, when Jaggard made a gift of the volume to Vincent, his fellow-victor in the

recent strife. In 1626 Vincent died, and for the following hundred and sixty years the home of the volume has baffled my researches. About 1780 it was added to the library of a country gentleman in Lincolnshire, named Sibthorpe. With Mr. Coningsby Sibthorpe, the great-grandson of this owner, I have had a good deal of correspondence. I examined the volume and photographed the title-page with the Jaggard inscription more than twenty years past. I wrote to Mr. Sibthorpe a few weeks since and he informed me that the volume left this country some ten years ago. It is now one of the many copies of the First Folio belonging to the American collector, Mr. Folger.

A goodly number of extant copies, with pedigrees unfortunately defective, have, at various periods of their three-century history, been in the ownership of men whose status in life or reputation lends the copies a personal or historic interest. No early copy of the First Folio has any prolonged association with the Sovereigns of this country. King James I, who was on the throne when the First Folio was published, is not known to have acquired a copy, and King Charles, who succeeded his father in 1625, contented himself with a Second Folio only. King Charles I's copy, we have it on the authority of Milton, was the closet companion of the King's enforced solitude through the days of his imprisonment near the end of his life. He presented his Second Folio to one who was to the last in personal attendance on him. It bears the pathetic inscription in Charles I's own handwriting, 'Dum spiro spero'. The volume was acquired by George III a century and more later and is now at Windsor Castle in the Royal Library.

It was not until 1800 that any royal personage of this country acquired a First Folio. That deed of

virtue was first achieved by George III's heir, George IV, when Prince of Wales. King George IV, the least reputable of our kings, differed from his father in many things. George III, we all regret to know, called Shakespeare 'sad stuff'. His eldest son paid the dramatist the most respectful homage. Not only did he purchase a First Folio for his library at Carlton House, which, on his death, in 1830, was entailed on the future occupants of the throne and is now at Windsor Castle, but he gave his high sanction to a movement for the erection of 'a national monument to the immortal memory of Shakespeare', at the same time promising a subscription of one hundred guineas. I am afraid that the royal subscription was never more than promised. The accounts of the memorial project which are extant in the library of Shakespeare's Birthplace at Stratford-on-Avon show that it was never paid.

George IV's copy of the First Folio, which is now the property of King George V, is by no means a perfect copy. The fly-leaf is missing; the title and last leaf are supplied from later Folios, and the whole is inlaid, a process which I deem reprehensible.

The leading editors of Shakespeare, Hanmer, Theobald, Capell, Dr. Johnson, Steevens, Malone, each acquired one copy of the First Folio, and some of them possessed two copies, for purposes of study. Wellnigh all the copies on which these eighteenth-century commentators worked are still identifiable. An inferior copy in the British Museum was successively the property of Theobald, Dr. Johnson, and Steevens. This copy passed from Dr. Johnson's possession in his lifetime. A second copy Dr. Johnson retained on his shelves till his death in 1784, but the present whereabouts of that second Johnsonian copy I have been unable to trace.

Perhaps it is of some pertinence to recent discussion as to whether any actors are or ever have been scholars, to learn that the chief actors of the eighteenth century, during which Shakespeare's plays were in constant process of production on the stage, owned copies of the First Folio.

The copy now belonging to the Duke of Leeds, in poor condition, belonged successively to Charles Killigrew, the theatrical manager and actor of Charles II's day, and to William Congreve, the dramatist. David Garrick and John Philip Kemble each possessed a copy. Garrick's copy is now at Queen's College, Oxford, and Kemble's at the Soane Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields. I have not been able to verify a credible report that a copy once existed bearing the signatures of both Garrick and Mrs. Siddons, with an indication that it was the gift of the Shakespearian actor in his last years to the Shakespearian actress at the opening of her great career.

Equally memorable is the evidence that serious-minded scholars and clergymen exempted the Shakespeare First Folio from the ban which they pronounced on other books of stage plays. The well-known seventeenth-century theologian, John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, purchased a copy for the library which he formed for the benefit of the clergy of his diocese, at Durham Cathedral. There it still remains. Perhaps more striking are the still identifiable copies which were acquired by two far-famed dissenting ministers of the seventeenth century. Cotton Mather, the well-known divine of Boston, Massachusetts, in the seventeenth century, who honestly believed in witches and dealt with them accordingly, acquired a copy which is still in America, the earliest known immigrant into that continent.

A second copy was bought by the active Presbyterian minister of London, Dr. Daniel Williams. It remains in Dr. Williams' Library which he left for the use of London students. One doubts whether these copies could have found themselves quite at home in their environment. Each was a solitary representative of dramatic literature amid stacks of Nonconformist theology. It is surprising that in such circumstances there was no battle of the books. It is gratifying to know the kind of reputation which Shakespeare's plays early acquired in dissenting circles, even if the recognition of his broad appeal to all sorts and conditions of men is no new thing for us.

Pedigree-hunting of rare books is as difficult as any other kind of pedigree hunting. It abounds in pitfalls, and it may be of some service to confess one pit into which I fell. A statement reached me when I was preparing my Census to the effect that a good copy, which Mr. Pierpont Morgan of New York purchased in London in 1899, was identical with one which had, on publication in 1623, become the property of a nobleman of Shakespeare's own time, Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester, nephew of Sir Philip Sidney and father of the Republican patriot, Algernon Sidney. The mansion house of Penshurst was reported to be this copy's primal and long-subsequent home. The proof, or alleged proof, was the old leather binding, which was stamped with the arms of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, the owner of Penshurst in 1623. The binding was certainly genuine, and there were remains of old silk tape string. The rumour ran that the Sidneys of Penshurst had disposed of a copy of the First Folio at the end of the eighteenth century, although there was no sure evidence as to what became of it. Information regarding the ownership of Mr. Pier-

pont Morgan's copy in the last half of the nineteenth century was at hand. Accordingly, my 'Census' described Mr. Pierpont Morgan's First Folio as a relic of the old Sidney library at Penshurst. I mentioned that the volume had been thoroughly restored.

After the publication of the 'Census', I learned, from one who watched the process, the precise kind of restoration which Mr. Pierpont Morgan's First Folio underwent in London shortly before he acquired it in 1899. The testimony put the alleged Sidney or Penshurst association in a disappointing light. In the middle of the nineteenth century a well-known collector, Mr. Hartley, acquired a First Folio which passed on his death in 1886 to a London bookseller. The copy was in poor condition when it left Mr. Hartley's library. The portrait and other leaves were missing. The new owner perfected the Hartley copy by inserting leaves from another copy. Nay, he did more. The Hartley copy had an old, rather decrepit cover stamped with the armorial bearings of an eighteenth-century bishop. A different book at the time in the possession of the new owner of the Hartley copy had a genuine old binding stamped with the Sidney arms. That cover was put to a new use. It was substituted for the original binding of the Hartley copy. There was never before any association of the Hartley copy of the First Folio with Penshurst or the Sidneys. I have since traced some steps in this copy's pedigree of ownership between the eighteenth-century bishop whose arms were once on the binding, and Mr. Hartley. It had a highly reputable owner at the end of the eighteenth century in a country gentleman of Hertfordshire, and a later owner was Robert Willis, Professor of Mechanics at Cambridge. But the Sidney tradition is a figment. The episcopal binding which the

purchaser in 1886 of the Hartley copy replaced with the Sidney binding is still in existence.

Pedigree-hunting may be quite as precarious a pursuit in the case of books as of human beings.

IV

Now I turn to more sordid details, and briefly trace the rise in the pecuniary value of original copies of the First Folio.

In terms of hard cash a reasonably perfect copy of the First Folio is to-day the most valuable of all printed books of secular literature. It was by somewhat slow degrees that the First Folio gained this proud position.

The original price was £1. Records of sale of the volume in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are very scanty, but for the first hundred years First Folios would seem to have changed hands at figures below the original publishing price. A report that many unsold copies of the Third Folio were destroyed in the Fire of London in 1666 caused that volume to rise for a time above its original price and encouraged a reverse tendency in the case of the First Folio.

A London sale catalogue of 1748 first appended to an entry of the book the words 'very scarce'. There is, unfortunately, no indication of the price. Eight years later the copy now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester fetched three guineas at the sale by auction of the library of Martin Folkes, a former President of the Royal Society. That sum was regarded for the next twenty years as a high figure. Garrick, the actor, bought of a fashionable London bookseller his copy, now at Queen's College, Oxford, for the modest sum of £1 16s. A little later in the century the prices of five, nine, ten, fourteen guineas are on record.

It was not till 1790 that we read of any great excitement attending the sale of a copy by auction. A passion for book-collecting was then growing among noblemen, and the Duke of Roxburghe, a leading collector, resolved to secure at any cost a copy of the First Folio at the public sale of a library belonging to an attorney of Ely Place. At this sale the Duke looked on from one end of the room, while a friend bid for him at the other. To the general amazement the bidding rose to what was regarded as the exorbitant sum of twenty guineas. Thereupon the friend in front passed to the Duke behind a slip of paper warning him to discontinue the contest. The Duke returned the slip with the added words :

Lay on, Macduff !

And damn'd be he who first cries ' Hold, enough '.

When the bidding reached £35 14s. the Duke was declared victor, and he marched away in triumph, with the volume under his arm. I have a particular interest in this copy because it subsequently became the property of the late Duke of Devonshire, and from it the Oxford University Press made that facsimile with which I was concerned. It has lately been sold to Mr. Huntington, the American collector.

In the nineteenth century higher records were soon reached. In 1808 the figure of £121 was scored. Another thrill passed through the book-collecting world when Mr. James Lenox, a New York collector, the pioneer of a mighty occidental movement, paid £163 in 1854. Ten years later the standard of value soared again in startling fashion. In July 1864 the late Baroness, then Miss, Burdett-Coutts, the millionaire philanthropist and banker, paid for a fine copy, belonging to a collector named George

Daniel, as much as £716, or 682 guineas. A limitless rise in the future, it was argued at the time, might be anticipated from so gigantic a figure. Three years later a London cataloguer of book auctions made the prophecy that the time might come when a copy of the First Folio would be regarded as cheap at a thousand pounds. At the extreme end of the nineteenth century, in 1899, this prognostication did something more than come true. Then it was that £1,700 was paid for a First Folio and the record of 1864 was deprived of its glory. That sum of £1,700 was regarded as a fantastic extravagance.

Since 1899 competition has immensely stimulated the selling price of the volume. In 1905 copies of all the Four Folios were sold by a Glasgow bibliophile to an American collector for £10,000. The Second, Third, and Fourth Folios fetch, even in the existing inflated market, comparatively small sums. Three thousand pounds for the three is still an outside price, so that in 1905 the First Folio may be said to have approached £7,000. Since then several good copies of the First Folio have changed hands, chiefly passing from England to America, at some £4,000 or £5,000.

Last May this standard was outmatched in a London auction room. The Daniel copy, which had made a stir in 1864 when the Baroness Burdett-Coutts purchased it for £716 or 682 guineas, was resold at auction in London to an American dealer for £8,600. At present the record figure stands at this sum of £8,600. *The Times* newspaper in 1864 had prophesied that the Daniel copy which the Baroness had then newly acquired, might in the day of 'our children's children', realize ten times the amount. The great newspaper is to be congratulated on the substantial accuracy of its fifty-nine-year-old forecast. This costly copy of the First

Folio is now in America in the library of Mr. Huntington.

The second highest price fetched at auction was £6,100. This sum was paid at Sotheby's as recently as July 22 last for a first-rate copy which belonged to Lord Carysfort and figured in my Census in the first division of the first class (No. 6). The ascertained prices at which this copy changed hands at earlier sales were £420 in 1882 and £880 in 1888. It was purchased last July by Mr. Quaritch at seven times as much as it fetched thirty-five years ago.

The third highest price realized by a copy of the First Folio at auction was £5,900, which the copy numbered 26 in my Census fetched at Sotheby's on November 14, 1922. This copy, which belonged to Mr. R. J. Walker, changed hands thrice during the nineteenth century, and its sale value rose from £110 in 1826 to £585 in 1873 and to £715 a little later. Again I have a personal interest in this copy, because its owner, when I was occupied with the Oxford facsimile, showed his confidence in me by entrusting it to my keeping for purposes of collation for a period of more than a year. It was acquired last November by an American dealer. I have not yet discovered who at the moment owns it.

Unlike our rich men the American millionaire is usually fired, when his bank balance grows substantial, with a holy zeal to acquire a copy of the First Folio. I honour this aspiration on the part of America's plutocrats, although it is having the effect of draining this country of original copies of the volume. English owners are exposed in these days of heavy taxation and of death duties to real temptation from America, and I am in doubt whether any copy of the First Folio now in private hands has a solid chance of escaping an early voyage across the Atlantic.

The lure of America has been very active since I compiled my Census in 1903, twenty years ago. Its potency has greatly increased within the last five years and is still growing. All copies in private ownership in this country stand in peril of migration. Only those in great public libraries are really safe. I reckon that there are at the moment thirty copies now safe in public ownership : that number is not likely to decrease ; one hopes it may increase. It is a sign of promise that in 1906 the Bodleian recovered a long-lost copy, and that last year a fine copy, through the generosity of a private benefactor, passed from private hands to the British Museum. The British Museum already possessed one perfect copy and three imperfect copies. The new copy now belonging to the nation presents the portrait in a finer state than is to be found in the perfect Grenville copy already in national ownership. But copies in private hands here are going West fast. Of fifteen good copies in 1903, in private hands in this country, twelve have passed into fresh hands in America. Amongst these recent transmigrants are not only the splendid copy which belonged to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, and the excellent copy which belonged to Lord Carysfort, but the Sheldon copy, of historic interest, which also belonged to the Baroness. The Duke of Devonshire's good copy, which the Oxford University Press facsimiled under my editorship in 1903, is among these new American settlers.

V

Let me finally describe the present distribution of the copies known to be extant.

As far as I can discover there are only four copies on the continent of Europe. The Bibliothèque

Nationale in Paris acquired copies of the First and the other three Folios in 1840 at a sale in London, when each volume fetched the modest sum of £20. The Royal Library in Berlin, now the Reichsbibliothek, purchased a copy of a London bookseller in 1858. A third copy, not in first-rate condition, is in the Library of the University of Padua. I understand that the Padua copy has seventeenth-century notes in manuscript, which seem to have come from the pen of an early acting manager. I hope some member of this Association may visit Padua before long in order to make a more thorough investigation. A fourth copy abroad has come to my knowledge recently; it is in private hands in Florence, in the fine library of Mme Finely at the Villa Landau; I am told that it is in good condition.

A few copies clearly went abroad in the seventeenth century, but I do not think any of the foreign copies which I have enumerated were among them. There is good reason to believe that one was dispatched on publication to Count Gondomar, who was long Spanish Ambassador in London at James I's Court. It was sent to the ambassador's ancestral residence at Valladolid, and long remained as an heirloom in his family. It was carefully examined at Valladolid by a Spanish scholar in the middle of last century. I have lately been trying to get on its track again, without decisive result, though if I am ever able to visit Spain I have clues which might lead me to the desired goal.

Of another interesting copy which I have studied closely the first known owner was a French Huguenot who settled in London after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but his descendants removed to Belgium. In 1889 the Belgian owner of this Folio offered it for sale at Christie's, where, as I have already mentioned, it fetched the then high

sum of £1,700. It was acquired by Mr. MacGeorge, a Glasgow stockbroker, but was soon transported to America ; it now belongs to Mr. Folger.

Three Dominions of the British Empire possess a copy apiece, viz. Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. None of these is a brilliant copy. Two of them, those respectively in the Cape Town Public Library and the Auckland Public Library, New Zealand, were presented some sixty years ago by an eminent pioneer of Empire, Sir George Grey. The copy in the Public Library of New South Wales was the gift in 1884 of Sir Richard Tangye, the head of a far-famed engineering firm. His example deserves the respectful attention of other mercantile magnates. The Dominion of Canada is so far without this national treasure. I commend that fact to the notice of any millionaires of imperial instinct who may be present.¹

And how about Great Britain and the U.S.A. ?

In 1906, when I published a brief appendix to my Census, I estimated that of the one hundred and seventy-two copies that I had then traced, one hundred and fourteen were in the United Kingdom, fifty-two were in America. Twenty-nine of the British copies were in public libraries or institutions here, and eighty-five were in private hands. Of the fifty-two American copies, nine were in public institutions and forty-three in private libraries.

Recently the number of publicly owned copies in this country has increased to thirty-one, and of publicly owned copies in America to twelve or thirteen. But the ratio of privately owned copies in

¹ The *Times Literary Supplement* of July 5, 1923, announces the discovery of an unrecorded copy of the First Folio in the Library of the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee in the United Provinces of North India. The officiating Principal of the College, Mr. C. J. Veale, describes this copy 'as in excellent preservation'. Some points in his description seem to make further inquiry desirable.

the two countries as it stood some seventeen years ago is now just reversed. There are in America in private hands just over eighty copies and in England in private hands just over forty.

A very curious fact in the recent history of this migration to America is that a private collector of New York has developed an unprecedented passion for First Folios which he has gratified portentously. Mr. H. C. Folger, who lately acquired the Baroness Burdett-Coutts's Sheldon copy for £5,400, enjoys the unique distinction of possessing already as many, according to a recent estimate, as thirty-five in all. One may hope that he and other American collectors of a less colossal craving will in time make over most of their First Folios to public libraries in America.

The most notable of living American collectors, Mr. Huntington, of New York and California, has shown a more restrained appetite for First Folios than Mr. Folger, but he owns several exemplars, including that formerly belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, and the Burdett-Coutts-Daniel copy which he acquired last year at the record price of £8,600. But Mr. Huntington has set a noble example in regard to the ultimate destination of these and other treasures. Information which has recently reached me from his able librarian, Mr. George Watson Cole, shows that he possesses nearly eight thousand volumes printed before 1641. As far as Shakespeariana goes, the British Museum Library and the University Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge are alone richer in rare editions, but in all periods of English literature Mr. Huntington's library is extraordinarily rich. His tastes are very catholic, and he is as well off in rare Americana as in rare Anglicana. Nor is his palatial residence at San Marino, California, less well equipped with old bronzes, pictures, and tapestries. His gallery of

English pictures includes forty masterpieces of the portraiture of Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, Raeburn, and some others. He purchased lately of the Duke of Westminster the famous 'Blue Boy' of Gainsborough.

But Mr. Huntington does not propose that his First Folios and the rest of his treasures shall remain in private ownership after his death. He has made over his books, pictures, and other works of art to a Board of perpetuating trustees, subject to his own life interest, and the special building which is now approaching completion at San Gabriel, California, will house for its future owners, the American people, during the years to come, a Shakespearian library ranking not far off the best in this country.

My last word is to commend Mr. Huntington's example to the attention of any of our rich men who may still own copies of the First Folio or may yet acquire them. I should like to see the libraries of as many big towns as possible possess an original First Folio. Of course, there are infinite uses in a facsimile, with which most libraries are provided, but facsimiles are rarely perfect reproductions, and they do not harbour the sentiment which attaches to an original.

There is plenty of scope in this country for the exercise of the kind of beneficence which I am specifying, and I hope this tercentenary year will be made memorable by a display of it. There are copies of the First Folio in public libraries in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Birmingham, Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stratford-on-Avon, and at Eton College, but you may judge from this list how many great cities lack them. I make no complaint about private ownership, but in view of the indebtedness of English-speaking peoples to the First Folio,

I think it may be argued that the more original copies of it that are accessible to the public, the better for the intelligent recognition of Shakespeare's genius by the English people at large, the better for public sentiment and scholarship.

English millionaires who share my views and propose to give practical effect to them must bestir themselves. Otherwise there is a likelihood that all the forty privately owned copies of the volume still in this country will make tracks across the Atlantic.

SIDNEY LEE.

* * By some unaccountable oversight I seem to have omitted from my ^{*}Census a copy of the First Folio in the Library of King's College, Cambridge, to which Mr. J. M. Keynes, C.B., Fellow of the College, has just called my attention (19 June 1924). The copy was bequeathed by Dr. George Thackeray, who was Provost from 4 April 1814 until his death on 21 October 1850. He was well known as a book-collector. His copy of the First Folio, according to Mr. Keynes' account, is defective at the opening and close of the volume, and would scarcely merit a higher place than in a low division of my Second Class.

THE FIRST FOLIO AND THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

THE study of Elizabethan plays from the aspect of the Elizabethan stage is almost entirely a development of the present century. While a mass of information had been collected by Malone about 1780, and by Collier about 1830, the first methodical exposition was a paper on 'Some Characteristics of the Elizabethan-Stuart Stage', contributed to *Englische Studien* in 1903 by Mr. W. J. Lawrence of Dublin, who a decade later was to issue his two collections of studies under the title of *The Elizabethan Playhouse*. Since 1903, research has been conducted with fine vigour and ingenuity by many scholars, English and American, German and French. But it must not be forgotten that Mr. William Poel, whose theories seem chiefly to have derived from Collier, had revived *Hamlet* from the Quarto of 1603 on a simple 'Elizabethan' stage in 1881, which experiment was the beginning of the new revival, the return to the presentation of Shakespeare's plays in full text by continuous action. These two pioneers, who have continued their work as well as inspiring others, have not received the fullness of honour that they have deserved. Again, although concentrating ostensibly upon bibliography, Professor Alfred W. Pollard has greatly advanced the study from a theatrical aspect by his division of the Shakespeare quartos into 'good' and 'bad', or authorized and piratical, texts.

Moreover, Professor Pollard was the first to look upon the First Folio as a collection of 'prompt-books', which is, in fact, what is meant by the study

of Shakespeare's plays from the aspect of the Elizabethan stage. According to his theory, the plays in the First Folio fall into two classes—those which were reprinted from previous authorized editions, whose original 'copy' was a prompt-book supplied to the printer by the players before 1608; and those which were printed from the manuscripts in possession of the King's Players in 1623. This is rather more strongly expressed than it was by Professor Pollard, and viewing the newly printed plays as prompt-books, the absence of stage-directions, and various other peculiarities, led me to advance the theory that five of these manuscripts were constructed by 'assembling' the players' parts into one continuous text—*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *2 King Henry IV*. These were so constructed, I suggested, because the prompt-books were not available in 1623, either because they had been lost or because they were required for current performances. Then, setting aside the five 'assembled texts', there remain a mass of plays which were printed either from the prompt-books of the King's Players in 1623, or from quartos whose original 'copy' had been the prompt-books of the same company, known formerly as the Lord Chamberlain's Servants.

A prompt-book is the mainspring of the whole complicated machinery of theatrical representation. Although Heminge and Condell did not say that the First Folio was printed from the prompt-books, which indeed was not an Elizabethan term, they said that all the plays had been acted. Their words, in the Address to the Great Variety of Readers, were, 'Though you be a Magistrate of Wit, and sit on the Stage at Black-friers or the Cock-pitt, to arraign Playes dailie, know, these Playes have had their

triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales.' Since, with a few negligible exceptions, all plays that were printed in their time had been previously acted, this seems an unnecessary statement. Nevertheless, it had its likely reason: the mind behind the phrase was not, I think, that of Heminge or Condell, but the mind of Edward Blount, the chief bookseller in their venture. He was the pioneer of the collected edition of English plays when, in 1607, he published the *Four Monarchicke Tragedies* of William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. These tragedies were among the negligible exceptions, for they had not been acted, nor were they written for acting.

The claim that the plays newly printed in the First Folio were printed from the prompt-books of the King's Players in 1623 is not absolute, for there may be one or two other exceptions. The subject, however, is intricate and, at the moment, irrelevant. It may be unfortunate that Shakespeare did not 'oversee and set forth' his plays, as Ben Jonson had done, when he re-wrote *Catiline* and *Every Man in his Humour* for publication, which two plays may never have been represented on the stage in the Folio versions. This, however, only leaves the Shakespeare plays nearer to the structural conditions of the Elizabethan playhouse.

The Elizabethan playhouse is assumed to have evolved, from the architectural aspect, from the Elizabethan inn, with its open yard surrounded on all four sides by a galleried building. It is important to remember that although Burbage had built the theatre in Shoreditch in 1576, twenty years later the Lord Chamberlain's Servants were still also acting in 'a common hostelry or inn'. Two documents may be cited:

(a) On December 26th, 1594, Shakespeare was a leading member of the Lord Chamberlain's Com-

pany. This fact is established by a warrant of payment dated 15th March 1594 (O.S.) to William Kempe, William Shakespeare, and Richard Burbage, 'Servants to the Lord Chamberlayne' for two 'severall Comedies or Enterludes shewed by them before her majestie in Christmas tyme last paste viz. upon St. Stephens daye and Innocentes daye'.

(b) On October 8th, 1594, this Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, had written thus to the Lord Mayor of London—'my nowe companie of players have byn accustomed for the better exercise of their quality, and the service of her majestie if need so requier, to play this wintertime within the Citie at the Crosse Kayes in Gracious Street. These are to requier and praye you . . . to suffer them so to do.'

These documents show that in the winter of 1594 the Lord Chamberlain's Company were, in effect, rehearsing at the Cross Keys for their dramatic representations at Court. Moreover, during the summer of 1595 they were acting at the Theatre in Shoreditch. From these facts there are alternative extreme deductions: either (1) the same players in the same Company within a single year were adopting three entirely different sets of theatrical conventions, one at the Theatre, one at the Cross Keys, and one at the Court; or (2) at all three places they employed a single set of conventions which depended upon the same essential structural conditions, whether permanent or improvised.

The Cross Keys, then, takes a new importance. The question of dramatic representations in London inns is a field of inquiry that is virtually unexplored. They were not terminated by the Act of Common Council in 1574 which prohibited, not any performance in inns, but the performance of 'any play interlude comedie tragedie morall or showe which

shall not be firste perused and allowed'. It is certain that plays which had been 'perused and allowed' continued to be performed publicly in many London inns: the Company of Lord Oxford and Lord Worcester, for instance, had acted in several inns during the winter of 1602, when the Privy Council commanded the Lord Mayor to restrict them to one place, the Boar's Head. Where in the winter of 1602 did the Lord Chamberlain's Men play? Now, it was not until August 1608 that Burbage obtained possession of Blackfriars Theatre. Until that year, or a little later, it must therefore be accepted as possible that, though often playing at the Globe, the Lord Chamberlain's Men continued also to play in the winter-time at the Cross Keys.

In 1664, shortly after the Restoration, Richard Flecknoe, in *A Short Discourse of the English Stage*, said that in London plays had been acted 'without any certain Theatres or set Companies, till about the beginning of Elizabeth's reign they began here to assemble into companies and set up theatres first in the City as in the inn-yards of the Cross Kayes and Bull in Grace and Bishops Gate Street, as this day is to be seen'. The importance of this statement lies in the phrases that they 'set up theatres' which were 'this day to be seen'. Obviously this denotes some permanent and peculiar structure that (though destroyed two years later in the Great Fire of London) remained standing at the Cross Keys in Flecknoe's time, and was sufficient in 1664 to distinguish it from the many surviving Elizabethan inn-yards. A removable platform or apron would not have constituted a permanent and peculiar structure: therefore, although its precise constitution cannot be determined, it must have enabled the company to produce the same conditions of representation at the Cross Keys as

at the Theatre. Moreover, 'the new playhouse' of 1598, the Globe on the Bankside, was erected with the 'wood and timber' of the old Theatre, and, it is fairly assumed, upon a similar, if not the same, plan. No doubt at the Globe there were improvements. For instance, instead of the old removable apron, the stage at the Globe was permanent, and surrounded by a low rail, as is witnessed by the words of Lucifer in Middleton's *The Black Book* (1604):

And now that I have vaulted up so high,
Above the stage-rails of this lordly Globe
I must turn Actor and join companies.

But such alterations as this would by no means transform 'the stagery', the essential conditions of representation which remain to be defined.

The study of the mass of plays known to have been performed at any time from 1594 to 1623 by the Lord Chamberlain's Men shows that the four essential structural conditions of representation were these:

- (i) The stage consisted of a platform which could be divided into two parts by a set of curtains.
- (ii) It could be entered only by three doors, one in the middle of the back wall which led to the after-stage, and one at each side which led to the fore-stage.
- (iii) Above the rear-stage was a balcony, gallery, or upper-stage.
- (iv) There were a number of trap-doors.

What trace have these essential conditions left on the First Folio? In its stage directions the curtains are never mentioned once, the doors only in fourteen of the thirty-six plays, the balcony only as 'the walls', and the trap-doors are never

mentioned. Their use in each instance was taken for granted in the routine of stage-management, and it was only for exceptional reasons that they were recorded in the prompt-book.

The texts of the First Folio cover a period of thirty years, for while *Titus Andronicus* is a reprint of the Quarto of 1594, there is no doubt that other plays were printed from the prompt-books in use in 1623. I would not, therefore, suggest for a moment that dramatic representation was static during this period, a period of the activity of the finest intellects and imaginations which have ever been devoted to the stage. The dramatic conventions of the Jacobean masque, with the use of painted perspective, must have had their influence, but whatever modifications they caused (except perhaps in *The Tempest*) they certainly did not destroy or materially transform the four essential conditions.

It has often been said that in an Elizabethan playhouse 'as there was no curtain, the actors could not be discovered on the stage'. This is entirely wrong. It is true that the technical term of discovery is used but once, 'Here Prospero discovers Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chesse'. But the device of discovery was used constantly in play after play. The bedroom scenes could not be played without it. A misleading form of stage-direction, however, has caused the confusion. For instance in Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, when Mistress Frankford is dying, and her friends are waiting outside her house, the quarto directs, 'Enter Mrs. Frankford in her bed'. Collier therefore commented that 'in the simplicity and poverty of our ancient stage it often happened that a bed was thrust upon the scene in order that it might represent a sleeping room instead of a sitting room when it was brought before the audience'. It has been assumed

that this is what happened in Shakespeare at the directions 'Enter Imogen in her bed' and 'Enter Othello and Desdemona in her bed'. But it is entirely wrong: the curtains before the after-stage were drawn apart, discovering the woman in bed on the after-stage, exactly as on the modern stage, except that it is there the front curtain that rises.

The confusion in the bedroom scenes results from the fact that when 'the curtains' are mentioned in the dialogue, modern editors have visualized a high canopied bed with curtains drawn closely about it. Although an Elizabethan bed was of this type, the curtains that were mentioned were those of the stage, which represented the curtains that screened an inner apartment in a large room.

There were times, however, when a bed or litter was carried on the stage. A curious instance comes from the comparison between *King Lear* in the First Folio and *King Lear* in the First Quarto, which differ in stage-directions. In Act IV, Sc. v, Cordelia is discussing Lear's madness with a 'Gentleman':

Gent. So please your Maiesty,
That we may wake the King, he hath slept long?
Cor. Be gouern'd by your knowledge, and proceede
I'th sway of your owne will: Is he array'd?

(Enter Lear in a chaire carried by seruants)

Gent. I Madam: in the heauinesse of sleepe
We put fresh garments on him.
Be by good Madam when we do awake him.
I doubt of his temperance.

Cor. O my deere Father, restauration hang
Thy medicine on my lippes, and let this kisse
Repaire those violent harmes . . .

According to the First Folio, then, while an obsequious 'Gentleman' is desiring permission to

awaken the king, the old man is being carried about by servants. However, in the First and Second Quartos there is no direction for 'Lear in a chaire', and Cordelia is talking not to an anonymous courtier, but to a doctor. The Quartos have, between 'I doubt *not* of his Temperance' and 'O my deere father', two lines, obviously deleted from the Folio:

Cor. Very well.

Doct. Please you draw near, louder the musicke there.

According to the earlier version, Cordelia and the Doctor drew apart the curtains and discovered the bed, the musicians playing (as in a similar scene in *2 King Henry IV*). According to the later version, it seems likely that limited accommodation caused them to dispose with the musicians and the bed, perhaps because the after-stage was occupied by properties for another scene.

Another instance where the after-stage seems to have been not available occurs in *2 King Henry VI*, which is another version of the first part of *York and Lancaster* (commonly called *The Contention*). While the title-page of the Quarto and the head title of the Folio both lay stress 'on the death of the good Duke Humfrey', it is amazing to find his murder was not enacted according to the text of the First Folio, where it is replaced by the short scene (Act II, Sc. ii) headed 'Enter two or three running over the Stage from the Murder of Duke Humfrey'. The direction in *York and Lancaster* for the suppressed murder is—

'Then the curtains being drawne Duke Humphrey is discovered in his bed, and two men lying on his brest, and smothering him in his bed. And then enter the Duke of Suffolke to them.'

In this direction, printed in 1594, we have positive

example that the platform-stage had already within its compass a picture-stage, where the essential use of stage-curtains was displayed in full colour. But the entire stage was never in any sense a picture-stage, with the setting placed like a landscape in a frame.

The three permanent doors of entrance were common to most, if not all, Elizabethan playhouses, public and private. *Eastward Ho*, as played at Blackfriars in 1605, contains this direction, 'Enter Maister Touchstone and Quicksilver at seuerall doores. . . . At the middle dore enter Golding'. The Blackfriars stage, then occupied by 'the Children', was constructed by the elder Burbage for the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1598, although they did not occupy it till 1608 or 1610. Here, then, he built the three doors, which were, without any doubt, used also at the Globe. Where *Arden of Feversham* was acted is uncertain, but it was published in 1592, and the murder of Arden demands three doors of entrance, mentioned by name as the yard-door, the street-door, and the door of the counting-house. These citations might be multiplied, but they will suffice to show that an essential of the Elizabethan stage was three doors of entrance.

It has, however, sometimes been denied that there were three doors of entrance because the directions in the First Folio take two forms, the entrance 'at one door' being continued either by the phrase 'at another door' or by 'at the other door'. In two plays, *Titus Andronicus* and *King Henry VIII* both forms are used in the same play, which suggests that the third door, commonly called the gates, was not always counted as a door. Indeed, the side-doors are mentioned in Shakespeare only where both are to be used at the same time, as by two contending forces or opposed trains. This type of

direction is found most often in the histories and tragedies ; as in *Cymbeline*, where ' Enter Lucius Iachimo and the Romane Army at one doore ; and the Britane Army at another '. It is rare in the comedies, a notable exception being *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, where ' Enter the King of Faries at one doore, with his traine, and the Queene at another with hers '.

It is therefore essential in visualizing an Elizabethan representation to keep in mind these three doors of entrance, by which alone the players could enter or leave the stage. Before applying this to Shakespeare, a peculiar instance may be cited from an extant prompt-book of the Globe playhouse, *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (licensed for the King's Players by Sir George Bucke in 1611). This directs, after the Tyrant has left the stage :

' Enter the Tirant agen at a farder doore, which opened, bringes him to the Toombe wher the Lady lies buried : The Toombe here discovered ritchly set foorth.'

By this the prompter understood that the Tyrant, who was on the fore-stage before the curtains, went out by a side-door, and then entered again by the back-middle door. Meanwhile, the curtains had been drawn apart, revealing the Tomb, to which he went. This direction helps us to solve a famous crux in *Romeo and Juliet*. The place is outside the House of Capulet, where we find : ' Enter Romeo, Mercutio, Benvolio, with five or sixe other Maskers, Torch-bearers.' They halt before the house. Benvolio says, ' Knock and enter soon '. This shows that they enter the one (say the left) side-door, and cross to the other side-door (say the right), which therefore represents the door of Capulet's house. Then after Mercutio has safely delivered the breathless rhapsody about Queen Mab, he says, ' On lustie

Gentlemen ', and Benvolio rejoins, ' Strike drum '. Then the book directs ' They march about the Stage and serving-men come forth with their napkins '.

Malone said, ' Romeo, Mercutio and others with their attendants are the persons who march about the stage. They are in the street, on their way to Capulet's house, where a masque is given, but Capulet's servants who come forth with their napkins, are supposed to be in a hall or saloon : yet both the masquers without (in the street) and the servants within (in the saloon) appear on the same spot.' Mr. William Poel, who has given frequent and urgent currency to this direction, believes (unless I misunderstand him) that the Maskers remained on the stage and walked to and fro, and that the appearance of the ' serving men with napkins ' was sufficient to show that the locality has changed from exterior to interior. But what happened was precisely what happened in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. The maskers walked through the right side-door already mentioned as representing Capulet's house ; the curtains were drawn, and the serving-men came forward, talked, and went off ; and then the maskers, meanwhile having gone ' about the stage ' round the passages, entered by the back-middle door, while at the same time Capulet entered by the left side-door. The directions are ' Exeunt ' (serving-men). ' Enter All the Guests and Gentlewomen to the Maskers.'

The withdrawing of curtains to indicate a change of locality from outside a house to the inside was a common device. In *Measure for Measure* Actus Tertius Scena Prima is one continuous *scena*, divided by modern editors into two scenes, a prison and a street. The Duke remained on the stage all the time, and the change of locality was indicated by closing the curtains and hiding the properties

which showed that the after-stage represented a prison. Again, in the duel scene between Viola and Aguecheek in *Twelfth Night*, Act III, Sc. i has similar unmarked division, not realized by modern editors, who do not see that the first part is enacted in Olivia's garden, the second in the street before her house, which change of locality was indicated by closing the curtains. It should need no argument that Antonio the sea captain, and the Officers of the Law, would not go wandering about the garden of the Countess Olivia.

The mention of the garden carries us to another important point, which is how did the Elizabethans represent their gardens, orchards, and forests? When that illustrious manager, Mr. Vincent Crummles, requested Nicholas Nickleby to write a scene in his play to introduce a pump and two wash-tubs, he was illustrating a vital principle of the old English stage. The 'pump and two wash-tubs' of the Elizabethan stage was a forest of trees. Whether these were 'real' or 'property' is of no immediate relevance, but they figured in almost all the plays in the First Folio, not only in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *As You Like It* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Timon of Athens*, but in *Julius Caesar*, where we find the direction 'Enter Brutus in his Orchard', while orchard scenes are found in *Twelfth Night* and *Much Ado About Nothing*.

As You Like It was of course a version of a novel *Rosalynde* which Thomas Lodge dedicated to the first Lord Hunsdon, who as Lord Chamberlain was patron of the Company. It may be that either he or his son, his successor as Lord Chamberlain, put this book in the hands of Shakespeare. The hero Rosader, who showed his love 'by writing on trees', would recall to Shakespeare Greene's *Orlando*

Furioso, also set in the Woods of Arden, where such an incident was exploited. Here the Count Sacrapant plays a trick on Orlando, who loves Angelica, telling his man

Ile slily have engraven on everie barke
The names of Medor and Angelica.
Harde bye Ile have some roundelayes hung up
Where in shall be some posies of their loves.

Then the action is shown by the directions :

‘ 1. Sacrapant hangs up the Roundelayes on the trees and then goes out and his man enters like a shepheard. 2. Enter Orlando and his page Orgalio. 3. Orlando readeth (the name of Angelica on the bark). 4. He spyes the roundelayes. 5. He readeth this roundelaye . . . ’

and so on. This is the obvious origin of Orlando in *As You Like It*, the man that ‘ haunts the Forrest, that abuses our yong plants with carving Rosalinde on their Barkes : hangs Oades upon Hawthorns, and Elegies on brambles : all (foorsooth) defying the name of Rosalinde ’. Trees were clearly used in *Orlando Furioso* and *As You Like It*. Were they used in others ?

Simon Forman’s note on *Macbeth* begins : ‘ In Macbeth at the Globe 1610, the 20 of Aprile Saturday there was to be observed firste how Macbeth and Banko two noblemen of Scotland ridinge thorow a wood, there stode before them three women feiries or nimphs.’ Of course, it has readily been explained that Forman was an inaccurate observer, and that the wood and the horses were present only in his imagination. It is certain, however, that horses were used on the stage by the Lord Chamberlain’s Men as in *A Larum for London or the Seige of Antwerp*, where the Duke of Alva, who is pretending to be dead, is carried ‘ upon a horse covered with blacke ’. There is no reason

to suppose, therefore, that Forman was wrong about the men riding through a wood, and indeed woodland settings played a large part in this play.

Steevens in 1780 searched the First Folio for directions which, to his mind, showed the use of flat painted scenery. He collected about twenty examples, which may all be divided into four classes as naming (i) the walls : as ' Enter a citizen upon the Walls ', in *King John* ; (ii) the gates : as ' Marcius follows them to the gates and is shut in ', in *Coriolanus* ; (iii) caves : as ' Enter Timon from his cave ', in *Timon of Athens* ; (iv) woods and orchards : as ' Enter Brutus in his orchard ', in *Julius Caesar*.

Steevens had in his mind the painted ' flat ' or back-scene of the old Georgian stage, and did not realize that the essential in each of the instances he cited was not the flatness but the solidity of the property—the walls that men could walk upon, the woods that they could walk through. He did not understand that the near central structure of an Elizabethan theatre bore a convenient resemblance to the walls of a medieval town—its middle door to the gates, its balcony to the walls, its turret to a watch-tower. To miss this resemblance is to fail utterly to understand how an Elizabethan history or chronicle was staged. Whether the play is *George a Green* or *Edward III*, *Richard Duke of York* or *Coriolanus*, the central structure was constantly brought into use, whence the numerous scenes at the gates of a city, beginning with the besiegers below and the besieged above ' on the walls '. Parleys outside the gates were common events in history. The third story or turret was not often pressed into service ; indeed, the only certain example is in *King Henry VI*, where Joan of Arc undoubtedly ascends it and thrusts a torch out as

a signal. In this play, as in others, the central structure represents the gates of various places in turn : here it was used in turn for the Gates of the Tower of London, the Gates of Orleans, of Rouen, and of Bordeaux. The indication of the change of place was by naming the place (perhaps while pointing at 'the Gates') in the first line of the scene. The opening words of the scenes are :

Act I, Sc. 3. I am come to survey the Tower this day.

Act I, Sc. 4. Sirha, thou knows't how Orleance is besieged.

Act III, Sc. 2. These are the City Gates, the Gates of Roan.

Act IV, Sc. 2. Go to the Gates of Burdeaux, Trumpeter.

If the locality had been shown by a board bearing the name of the town, it would not have been necessary to use the device.

Of course, the gates of a medieval city were hardly to be distinguished from the entrance to a walled medieval castle. Consequently, the central structure should be visualized in *Macbeth*, where 'the walls' were pressed into service. With this simple formula in mind numerous staging difficulties in the histories and tragedies become resolved into simplicity.

Beyond the four essential conditions, there are three which are supposed to have affected the representations of Shakespeare—the custom of spectators sitting on the stage, the division of the performance into five acts by pauses, and the use of locality-boards to give the names of places represented. Not one of these three customs, I believe, was used in the public theatres, nor can they, therefore, have influenced Shakespeare until the King's Players acquired the private house in Blackfriars about 1608 to 1610. Nevertheless, they may have affected the First Folio texts, which were printed in 1623.

Heminge and Condell, in their Address, spoke of 'the Magistrates of Wit who sit on the stage at Black-friers or the Cock-pitt'. Mr. Lawrence has contended, with great reason, that this custom originated with the Children of the Chapel Royal at the first playhouse (or playroom) in the old monastery at Blackfriars before 1580. He, however, ascribes its origin to the restricted accommodation—that is, the 'magistrates' were the overflow from the pit. But the first performances at Blackfriars were rehearsals for the Court, under the superintendence not only of the Master of the Children but also of the Master of the Revels. In their capacity of stage-directors the two Masters would be seated as near as possible to the players. The guests were their guests, invited, no doubt, in many cases for their criticism, or giving it unsolicited, and the spectators on the stage were always mentioned as 'the criticks' *par excellence*, the Magistrates of Wit. The general public, if such a term can be applied to restricted admission, were distributed about the house, and though the privilege of sitting on the stage was afterwards granted for a simple payment, to these spectators always clung some of the glory of being 'critics', like the Master of the Revels, his Yeomen, and his Friends. Mr. Lawrence contends, at least by implication, that the custom was common to all Elizabethan playhouses, but this very allusion to the Cock-pit and Blackfriars implies that it was still, even in 1623, restricted to the private houses. Moreover, it is a matter of definite evidence that spectators did not sit on the stage at the Globe in 1604, when *The Malcontent* was acted there, after having been played by the Children at Blackfriars. The Induction thus—'Enter W(illiam) Sly, a tireman following him with a stool'. Sly appears in the character of a spectator, and he is told by the

tireman, ' Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit here '. Sly answers, ' Why, we may sit on the stage at the private house ' (implying, ' so why not at a public theatre? '). He is joined shortly by Sincklo, also as a spectator, and after some discussion the Induction ends with the two spectators being conducted by the tireman off the stage to ' a private room ', or private box. Dekker's ironical advice in *The Guls Hornbooke* (1609) that at ' the publique or private playhouse ' the gallant should sit ' on the very Rushes where the comedy is to daunce, yea, and under the very state of Cambises himselfe ', is no proof that this was permitted, even if attempted, at the public theatres, for irony is a most perplexing figure of speech. Therefore, it is only reasonable to suppose that the custom of sitting on the stage was not sanctioned by the King's Players till they accepted it as a legacy from the Children when they acquired Blackfriars. The Address makes it clear that in 1623 it had not been extended to the Globe. As most of Shakespeare's plays had been written by 1608, the custom can have influenced only his later plays, and that but slightly. Indeed, no trace of it has yet been discovered in the Folio texts.

The division of plays into acts by pauses during which music was played was an undoubted custom of the private theatres. Marston's *Parisitaster or the Fawn* and *Sophonisba*, both acted by ' the Children ' at Blackfriars, are conclusive as to this, and in the second play he entreats his reader ' not to taxe me for the fashion of Musique of this tragedy, for know it is printed only as it was presented by youths and after the fashion of the private stage '. Moreover, *The Malcontent* of 1604 is extant in both versions, one acted by the Children at Blackfriars and the other acted by the King's Players at the

Globe. The Globe Induction explains that certain additions have been made 'to abridge the not received custom of musique in our theatre'. While this proves that there was no music between acts at the Globe, it follows that, until at least 1608 or perhaps 1610, when the King's Players acted first at Blackfriars, the plays of Shakespeare were performed in one unbroken continuity without pauses. This is confirmed by the absence of any divisions in the quartos of Shakespeare, authorized and piratical, issued during his life, or, more exactly, before 1609 when the last new play, *Troilus and Cressida*, was printed, about the time the King's Players acquired the private house at Blackfriars. However, the first new play to be printed after his death was *Othello* in 1622, 'as it hath beene diverse times played at the Globe and at the Blackfriars', and this is divided into acts. The inference is that the custom of music between the acts had been adopted at Blackfriars at some time after 1609. It does not follow, nevertheless, that it was also adopted at the Globe, any more than the custom of sitting on the stage.

The First Folio, however, has the acts marked in all the plays but six, while *Hamlet* is divided incompletely. The six plays are the Second and Third Parts of *Henry VI*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, printed from manuscript, and *Romeo and Juliet*, reprinted from a quarto. This may mean that not one of these plays had been revived, since the acquirement of Blackfriars, except of course *Romeo and Juliet*, which, being a reprint with no change save the omission of the prologue, does not invalidate the argument. The other plays, then, may have been divided in consonance with the theatrical practice of 1623, which prescribed pauses with music. A remarkable

confirmation is found in *A Midsummer - Night's Dream*, where the division necessitates two pauses during the long scene in the woods, which is marked into three acts. At the end of Actus Tertius is a direction 'They sleepe all the Act'. This means that the four Athenian lovers must lie feigning sleep, in full view of the audience, during 'the Act', which was the common term, as used in Marston's *Parisitaster*, for the music between the acts. This single direction, which shows execrable stage-management, is the only trace in the First Folio of the custom of music being played during pauses between acts, but it is conclusive that this had been introduced by 1623, at least at the Blackfriars, at revivals of Shakespeare.

In one play, *King Henry V* in the First Folio, it is clear that though there were not pauses, the performance had once been divided into acts not by pauses but by the appearance of a chorus or commentator, whose several speeches, from the allusions to Essex in Ireland, must be attributed to 1599. It is most unlikely that the fifth chorus, at least, was spoken after his fall in 1600. The divisions in the First Folio disregard the appearances of chorus; Actus Primus has the second chorus in the middle, and therefore there is no speech between Actus Tertius and Actus Quartus. Shakespeare's structural division (if, indeed, he was the author of the choric speeches) was entirely ignored. *Romeo and Juliet* may formerly have had also four choric speeches, only one of which (before the present Act II) survives in the First Folio, while the Prologue, restored in modern editions, is found only in the earlier quartos. Apparently, then, the custom of choric recitals was abandoned after 1599, when the first authorized text of *Romeo and Juliet* was printed.

Twenty-nine plays, then, are to be divided into acts, of which sixteen only are marked also into scenes. In all the plays the Latin terms are used, as *Actus Quartus Scena Tertius*. However, the words 'Actus Primus Scena Prima' are placed across the double column beneath the head-title in thirty-four plays, even those which are not divided into acts. This appears to be merely an attempt to secure typographical uniformity. Therefore, it is possible that printers may have made other markings, such as in *King John*, where *Actus Secundus* consists of eighty lines only, and no pause can have followed, and where the two last acts are both marked *Actus Quartus*. The evidence, then, is strongly in favour of the theory that Shakespeare wrote his plays for performance in one unbroken continuity, and that the musical interludes were a heritage from the Children at Blackfriars, and adopted, not necessarily in all plays, after 1610.

The use of locality-boards is a little more difficult, but of less importance. The modern editions have no authority for giving the names of places at the head of every scene. In the First Folio localities are named in the directions in four plays only, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Henry V*, *1 Henry VI*, and *Coriolanus*, and in each play the names of places are given four or five times only during the twenty odd scenes. Each instance can be explained as a reasonable accident, but it is contended that they were a legacy of the custom of using 'locality-boards', placed over the doors of entrance. However, these boards can be traced only at the private houses. Not later than 1600, William Percy, in his manuscript play *The Fairy Pastorall*, acted about that year by the Children of Pauls, gives a list of properties that are required, adding

'Now if so be that the Properties of any of these, that

be outward, will not serve the turne by reason of concurse of the People on the Stage. Then you may omitt the sayd Properties which be outward and supplye their Places with the Nuncupations onely in Text Letters.'

This device, then, was an expediency when there was 'a concurse of people on the stage' at St. Paul's private house, which would not occur at the Globe, and cannot be traced in the seventeenth century. It cannot, therefore, have determined these curious and accidental instances in the First Folio, and it played no part in Shakespeare's dramatic economy.

The great event in the history of the King's Players between 1608, when they authorized the last quarto of Shakespeare, and 1623, when the First Folio was printed, was the acquirement of the private house at Blackfriars. While the essential structural conditions were the same, they were exposed to the influence, the traditional influence, of a special set of dramatic conventions, the most important of which was the custom of musical interludes. If the duration of a performance was limited as formerly, the introduction of pauses in representation must have demanded a compensating abridgement of the acting version. This may have caused the abridgement of *The Tempest*. Yet it is by no means certain that such adaptations were not made by Shakespeare, or with his sanction, and under his supervision. The interpolations of masques, as it seems in *The Tempest*, *Cymbeline*, and *King Henry VIII*, were not imposed, so far as can be judged, by any change in conditions of representation, but they appear to have been made in response to a demand for spectacle. Whether *Macbeth* was so treated, with Hecate added as a singing part, is a matter for speculation, not for evidence. With these exceptions, which may or may not have been posthumous, there is no reason for supposing the

general and systematic adaptation of Shakespeare's plays between his death and the printing of the First Folio : indeed, where two texts exist—in *King Lear*, in *Othello*, in *2 King Henry IV*—the changes in the Folio version are rare and trivial. The further development of this theme would carry me beyond my prescribed scope.

R. CROMPTON RHODES.

THE FIRST FOLIO AND ITS PUBLISHERS

CERTAINLY there is little if anything that is new to be said respecting the publication of the first collection in folio of Shakespeare's plays, and possibly not very much that is certainly true. My task is but to summarize, and I shall do little more than borrow from Professor Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, a masterly work with which, supplemented in some respects by his later investigations into *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates*, I find myself generally in cordial agreement. While, however, relying on a recognized authority for the main outline of the facts, I shall endeavour to justify my incursion in his field by laying most stress on the few points at which I conceive Mr. Pollard's account either to need modification or to be capable of development.

In order to understand the circumstances of the publication of the First Folio, it is necessary to know something of the organization of the book trade at the time.¹ In the early years of the seventeenth century the freemen of the Stationers' Company were divided into two sharply distinguished groups; those who were master printers and owned printing presses, and those who were not. Of the former there were about two dozen, with a total of

¹ The paragraphs above are an attempt, the first so far as I am aware, to state the general practice of the early seventeenth century with regard to publication, and to determine the significance of the various forms of imprint. While believing my exposition to be in the main correct I fully recognize that it will probably require considerable qualification before it can be accepted as an adequate account of the matter.

some half a hundred presses ; of the latter anything up to perhaps ten times that number. These included journeymen working for other stationers, and many who, so far as we know, took no part in the trade, while the remainder were booksellers. Thus any member of the craft in business on his own belonged technically either to the small circle of printers or to the much larger class of booksellers. But for the production of a printed book—if we leave out of account the insignificant part of the author—three functions are requisite : that of the capitalist who owns the ‘copy’ and finances the undertaking, that of the craftsman who prints the book, and that of the tradesman who retails it to the public. These functions may be, and in fact often were, combined, but since the combinations were far from constant, and in some cases no combination took place, we are driven to distinguish, in theory at least, three persons, namely the printer, the publisher, and the bookseller. From our present point of view the mere bookseller is of little interest. To the narrowly bibliographical outlook the printer is the protagonist, and I think that this fact has had more influence than it should upon the views of writers on the subject. For there can be little doubt that, when the printer and publisher were different persons, the former acted merely as the agent of the latter, and it was the latter who held the rights and bore the responsibility of the undertaking. It should, therefore, always be our first concern to inquire who was the publisher of any given book.

The functions, I have said, were combined in various ways. Sometimes a printer himself possessed the ‘copy’ of a book, produced it at his own expense, and vented it at his own door. More often, however, if he owned and printed the book himself, he would

employ a bookseller to place it on the market. Or the 'copy' might belong to, and the venture be financed by, a stationer who did not himself possess a printing press. In that case he would employ one who did to produce the book for him, and either himself put it on sale, or more rarely employ another bookseller to do so. These various trade arrangements are as a rule reflected in the imprints found on the title-pages of the volumes to which they relate. I may remind you that the usual method of advertising new publications was to post up copies of the title-pages at convenient points about the City, and that consequently one of the main functions of the imprint was to inform the public of the address at which copies might be purchased.

For a printer to take on himself all three functions, though of course the original practice, was not at this date common, but we occasionally meet with such an imprint as that of *Hans Beer Pot*, 'Imprinted by Bernard Alsop, and are to be solde at his house by Saint Annes Church neere Aldersgate, 1618'. This, though unusual, is perfectly regular. But when, in such a case, we find the important detail of the address omitted, as in the imprint to the first edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, which runs, 'London, Printed by Iohn Danter. 1597', we begin to suspect that all is not in order. With the abruptness of this we may compare the original *Titus Andronicus*, 'Printed by Iohn Danter, and are to be sold by Edward White & Thomas Millington, at the little North doore of Paules at the signe of the Gunne. 1594', a case in which Danter acted both as printer and publisher (having duly registered his 'copy') and employed a firm of booksellers to vent his wares on their booth at the Cathedral door. It was, however, much more usual, in the case of plays at least, for the 'copy' to be in the hands of a pub-

lisher who employed a printer to produce the book for him. It was so with the edition of *Romeo and Juliet* issued in 1599 to replace Danter's impudent venture, which was 'Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burby, and are to be sold at his shop neare the Exchange'. Since booksellers who acted as publishers were usually men of standing, their shops would be well known to the buying public, and there was less need to add the address. Thus the edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* 'Imprinted at London by W. W[hite]. for Cutbert Burby. 1598' does not raise the same suspicions as Danter's *Romeo and Juliet*. The publishers of Shakespeare's plays, when not themselves printers, appear always to have sold their own books; indeed the ultimate division by which a publisher employed both a printer on one hand and a bookseller on the other was mainly of later growth. However, as early as 1606 the first issue of *The Isle of Gulls* was 'Printed [by an unnamed and unidentified printer] for Iohn Trundle, and are to be sold by Iohn Hodgets in Paules Churchyard'.

Sometimes the ownership or financial risk was shared and the arrangements became more complicated. Where two publishers divided an edition between them we occasionally find alternative title-pages. Even when it was only two booksellers who were concerned the same device was sometimes adopted, as in the case of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in 1609, some copies of which bear the imprint 'By G. Eld for T. T[horpe]. and are to be solde by William Aspley', while others are 'to be solde by Iohn Wright, dwelling at Christ Church gate'.

Of the relation between publisher and bookseller we know little for certain. It is natural to suppose, as I have done, that the owner of the 'copy' financed the publication, but it seems likely that in some

instances the bookseller was directly interested. Certainly this is the impression produced by the imprint of the *Sonnets*, and it is borne out by other publications of Thorpe's. But besides acting in such a formal capacity as to justify the appearance of his name on the title-page of a book, a bookseller no doubt stocked his stall with small parcels of vendible stuff from any publisher's shop. In 1608 the advertisement title of *King Lear* would have told you that copies were obtainable at the Pied Bull near St. Austin's gate, but you could probably have picked up a copy on most of the booths that crowded St. Paul's Churchyard. If, on the other hand, you saw the advertisement of a play bearing the name of a bookseller only—as, for instance, that of *Westward Ho*, 'Printed at London, and to be sold by Iohn Hodgets dwelling in Pauls Churchyard. 1607'—then, if you were of a curious turn of mind, you bought the book with a reasonable assurance that you were getting something that somebody did not wish you to have. From the Shakespearian point of view it adds perhaps a pinch of spice to observe that *Westward Ho* bears on the title-page a device which was at the time in the hands of William Jaggard, though he is not known to have used it in any of his acknowledged work.

It must not be supposed that the circumstances of publication can always and with certainty be inferred from the form of imprint used in a book. But we are dealing with a trade custom which must have had current significance among members of the craft. And to put the claim at its lowest I think we may say that the publisher is usually the person 'for' whom the book is printed, if specified, if not, the one 'by' whom it is printed, and that as far as the rights in the book are concerned all others are negligible. I would even go so far as to maintain

that whenever there is any indication that the real facts are at variance with these assumptions, there is something in the circumstances of the case that calls for investigation.

I have already alluded more than once to the 'registration' of 'copy'. By this is meant the record in the Register of the Stationers' Company of a particular piece of 'copy' as belonging to a particular stationer. The following is typical: 'vj^{to} die ffebruarij [1593/4].—Iohn Danter.—Entred for his Coppye vnder thandes of bothe the wardens a booke intituled a Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus—vj^d.' So is this: '26 Novembris [1607]—Nathanael Butter Iohn Busby—Entred for their copie vnder thandes of Sir George Buck knight [the Master of the Revels] and Thwardens A booke called. Master William Shakespeare his historye of Kinge Lear [&c.]—vj^d.' These entries are formal declarations of ownership by the person whom I have called the publisher, endorsed by the Wardens on behalf of the Company, and establishing a right which that body would protect from infringement. To obtain the authorization of a Warden the applicant presumably had to satisfy him, in the first place that no other stationer laid claim to the 'copy', and next that it contained nothing to which those in authority could object. It was not in general any part of the Warden's business to inquire how the 'copy' had been obtained, but on the other hand there seems no reason to believe that his endorsement would necessarily have been forthcoming if it were known that the author or his representatives were actively opposed to publication. We may presume that, as a rule, the 'copy' was registered previous to printing, but it is evident that the formality was sometimes postponed till the very eve of publication. We also know that in

exceptional circumstances a book might be registered even though no actual 'copy' was produced for inspection.

It sometimes happened that a publisher, who had omitted—as was not uncommon—to register a particular book as his 'copy', nevertheless subsequently made it over to another stationer by means of a formal entry in the Register. This gives rise to a rather nice question as to the right of the latter in the 'copy'. It might plausibly be argued that no person could transfer to another a greater right than he himself possessed, and that consequently the entry would have been inoperative. Nevertheless, if we look closely at the form of these so-called transfers or assignments, I think we shall conclude that such a view would be mistaken. Take, for example, the following entry, which includes the earliest appearance of two of the plays mentioned: '22. Ianuarij [1606/7] . . . Master Linge—Entred for his copies by direcon of A Court and with consent of Master Burby vnder his handwrytinge These .iij copies. viz. Romeo and Iuliett. Loues Labour Loste. The taminge of A Shrewe—xviiij^d.' Here formally there is no assignment at all: Linge registers his ownership of the 'copy', and the Court of Assistants take note of the fact that Burby surrenders whatever rights in the same he may or may not possess. Burby's renunciation facilitates Linge's entry; it is upon the latter alone that Linge's rights, whatever they may be, rest.

There is, however, another kind of entry to which the term 'assignment' is more appropriate and should perhaps be restricted. This is the transfer of an estate from one person to another, and does not constitute a definite claim to the 'copy' mentioned, but only to such rights in the 'copy' as the assignor possessed, rights that might not be exclu-

sive. It is necessary to emphasize this because even so expert a writer as Mr. Pollard has stated that in 1630 Edward Blount 'was able to transfer to Robert Allot the sixteen plays of Shakespeare copyrighted [by him and Jaggard] in 1623 as if they had been his sole property'. What Blount in fact 'assigned over' was, in the words of the 'Memorandum' in the Register, 'all his estate and right in the Copies hereafter mencioned', not the 'copies' themselves or his right *to* them, and there is consequently nothing in this entry inconsistent with that made three years earlier whereby Dorothy Jaggard, Isaac's widow, 'Assigned over vnto' Thomas and Richard Cotes 'her parte in Shackspheere playes'. There is no reason to suppose that this refers to what have been called 'printing rights' as apart from 'copy rights', or indeed that the Company recognized any such distinction.

Writers who should have known better—including, I suspect, myself—have alluded to the act of registration as 'licence'. There is some excuse for this at an earlier date, when the term 'licence' is freely used in the books of the Company. But about 1588 the two operations came to be more clearly distinguished, and at the time with which we are dealing there is no excuse for confusing them. Registration was a mere trade affair, authority for which could be granted by the Master or a Warden of the Company. Licence was a Crown and Star Chamber matter, and authority could—in legal theory—be granted only by duly appointed officers. What is obscure is the relation in practice between licence and registration. Modern students are necessarily perplexed and easily misled by the fact that the vehement edicts of Tudor administration were often so astonishingly ineffectual. They were inoperative because

their requirements were impracticable. If you demand that every twopenny ballad shall bear the imprimatur of six members of the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London—and something of this sort seems contemplated in the Injunctions of 1559—it will either not be published at all or will be published unlicensed. So far as we can judge—though the evidence is neither as full nor so well sifted as we could wish—what in practice happened was that controversial works required to be certified under the hand of some properly accredited person before they were admitted to registration, while in cases where the risk of official objection was sufficiently remote the Wardens took upon themselves to authorize registration without formal licence. That they were not always prepared to shoulder the responsibility in the case of plays is shown by the entry on 20 October 1597 of *Richard III*, ‘vnder thandes of master Barlowe, and master warden man’, William Barlow being chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift; and even in the entry of *Titus* already quoted we cannot argue with complete certainty from the absence of any such reference that formal licence had not been obtained. We have, however, good reason to suspect that the officials of the Company had proved easy-going in the matter, for in 1599, after the excitement over the Nashe-Harvey quarrel, the Master and Wardens were called upon to sign a declaration undertaking among other things henceforth ‘That noe playes be printed except they be allowed by such as have auctoritie’. This is still rather vague. But it is after this that we begin to find allusion to the Master of the Revels, as in the entry of Shakespeare’s *King Lear* previously cited. There was no formal decree; but it will be remembered that every play required

the Master's written authorization before it could be acted, and several manuscripts survive which bear his formal allowance. If such a manuscript were taken by a publisher for registration we may reasonably conjecture that the Wardens would accept the acting licence as sufficient imprimatur : it is perhaps hazardous to argue in the contrary sense that all plays entered ' vnder thand ' of the Master of the Revels were printed from allowed playhouse copies.

With this preamble we may pass to the consideration of the First Folio, and to begin with, a word must be said as to the nature of the Shakespearian publications that preceded it. Into Mr. Pollard's distinction of the early Quartos as Good and Bad, now recognized of fundamental importance in criticism, I need not enter at length. The Bad texts are six in number : *Romeo and Juliet* 1597, *Henry V* 1600, *The Merry Wives* 1602, *Hamlet* 1603, *Pericles* 1609, and almost certainly a *Love's Labour's Lost* before 1598, which has justified its title. All these, where they survive, agree in offering thoroughly corrupt texts, and they likewise agree in not being entered, or being irregularly entered, in the Stationers' Register. All the other early Quartos offer comparatively sound texts, and they were all alike either regularly entered in the Register, or else published to replace Bad texts.

Of the Bad Quartos no use whatever was made in the Folio of 1623. Of *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*, Good texts had already been printed. Satisfactory manuscripts of *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives* were available and rendered recourse to the early prints unnecessary. *Pericles* was discarded. This has given rise to much speculation. Difficulties over copyright and qualms as to authorship have alike been held responsible, but I do not think that either suggestion bears

examination. A more likely cause is not beyond conjecture. *Pericles* had been piratically published in a Bad Quarto, and 'copy' of this class the editors were determined not to use. If no authoritative manuscript was available at the moment the course they took was the only one open to them.

The correspondence between Good and Bad texts on the one hand and regular and irregular publication on the other, established by Mr. Pollard, is a bibliographical fact the significance of which can hardly be diminished by any future discoveries. It is, however, desirable to point out that at present it is a more or less isolated phenomenon. It holds of Shakespeare's plays: as yet we do not know how far it holds of others. In a few obvious instances a similar correspondence certainly obtains: it may in many: it is unlikely to prove universal. One of the most urgent investigations in the field of dramatic bibliography is the extension of Mr. Pollard's thesis, first to the other plays of the Chamberlain-King's company, next to those of the Admiral-Prince's men, and lastly to those of minor organizations. Until a proper survey of the ground shows that he is adequately protected on the flanks, the Shakespearian critic, whatever confidence he may feel in the ultimate soundness of his position, will never be wholly safe against surprise attacks.

The Folio of 1623 was not the first attempt at a collected edition of Shakespeare's plays. That honour, if honour it is, belongs to a volume printed over four years before, of which the existence was till lately unsuspected, and the history is almost unknown. In character the volume is thoroughly disreputable: the circumstances of its publication are wrapped, and I doubt not intentionally wrapped, in a mystery which has so far proved impenetrable, and which it is most unlikely that future investiga-

tion will ever wholly dispel. The constituents of the volume are by now well recognized, and I will give them in the order in which (with minor reservations) the brilliant investigation of Mr. William Neidig has proved that they were printed: *The Whole Contention* [2 parts], *Pericles*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives*, *King Lear*, *Henry V*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. Of the nine title-pages one is undated, three bear the true date 1619, three the date 1600, and two the date 1608; five purport to be printed for T.P., that is Thomas Pavier, one for Arthur Johnson, and one for Nathaniel Butter, while two pretend to be printed by James Roberts. In point of fact the whole volume was printed in the house of William Jaggard.

I will now briefly sketch what I fancy may have been the story of this queer affair, but I do not pretend that what I have to offer is anything more than (I hope) plausible speculation, and perhaps where everything is avowed conjecture it may be the more excusable to ride old hobby imagination on a loose rein. I regret extremely that the space at my disposal forbids my even indicating the often intricate evidence upon which my speculations are based, and such being the case I can only ask that what I have to say may be accepted frankly as fiction.

I allow myself, therefore, to suppose that the coincidence of Shakespeare's death with the appearance of the first collected edition of Ben Jonson's works in 1616 made a complete collection of the former's plays a common topic of discussion among London stationers. It may, then, quite naturally have occurred to Thomas Pavier that the rights of five Shakespearian plays of sorts were already in his possession, that at least three others were only waiting to be picked up, and that permission to

include certain further items could probably be had on easy terms. The volume so composed would indeed be far from complete, and even so far as it went of no very reputable character ; but in this imperfect world it often pays to seize the forelock of occasion, and act in however limited a way while others are talking. So, I take it, Pavier approached young Isaac Jaggard, who, since he took up his freedom in 1613, had been helping his father William in the management of the printing-house in Barbican, and showed a sporting disposition. The two laid their plans, perhaps without worrying the old man unnecessarily with details, and early in 1619 work began. The scheme was a modest one, and called for no larger size than quarto—luckily as the event proved. Beyond the eight pieces already at Pavier's disposal, he had only obtained permission to reprint two, *The Merry Wives* from Arthur Johnson—a poor thing, but the rights were valid—and *King Lear*—a real prize—from old Nat Butter. That would do for a start ; ten plays form a fat quarto volume, and perhaps arrangements could be made for a second later on. Work was begun on *The Whole Contention*, a title invented to cover the old *First Part of the Contention betwixt York and Lancaster* and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*. Each play was to have a separate title-page, and upon the first Pavier's initials were duly placed. These sufficed since his full name as publisher, together with that of Jaggard as printer, would naturally appear on the general title to the volume. But, for the adornment of the several plays, Isaac selected from stock a device with a pious Welsh inscription originally cut for Richard Jones, which had somehow come into his father's hands, and which he had already used on some of his more daring ventures, its pointed inappropriate-

ness almost convicting him of an ironic knowledge of Welsh.¹ *The Whole Contention* was followed by *Pericles*, and the signatures ran continuously through the two plays.

It would seem that when the work had advanced thus far a whisper reached the ears of the King's players. William Jaggard was in pretty constant touch with the companies, since he held a licence for the printing of playbills. Mr. Pollard believes that if, in the course of conversation at the Globe, William Jaggard 'chanced to mention the project' of the collected volume, 'he may have heard enough plain-speaking to frighten him'. I do not think that the man who next year published the *Decameron* in defiance of the Archbishop of Canterbury was very easily frightened, and I do not see that the players had any very serious ground of complaint. The project, though a little dingy, was hardly illegitimate, and it did not touch their interests at all closely. It may, nevertheless, have set them thinking. If they had already been approached with a view to the sale of their manuscripts, it would probably occur to them that any injury which the scheme for a complete Shakespeare might suffer from Pavier's venture would redound to the prejudice of their own wares. The new move, I suggest, decided them, and they intimated to Jaggard that they were prepared to treat for the manuscripts on condition that he prevailed on Pavier to drop his inconvenient project. Perhaps this was the very object Jaggard had in view when he connived at Pavier's scheme. By a little polite blackmail he now brought the players to the point of treaty and himself became the channel of negotiation, thereby securing such a position in the new enterprise as would enable him to secure the printing contract.

¹ 'Righteousness First' is not a bad motto for a Jolly Roger.

When William communicated this decision to his son, the copy for *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and possibly other plays was already in the office, and it was decided that while the form of a collected volume must be forthwith abandoned it would be a pity not to keep the press at work on anything that could be safely handled. So the *Yorkshire Tragedy* was set up with Pavier's initials and the date 1619, but with independent signatures. Meanwhile, Isaac Jaggard had to persuade Pavier to renounce his project. He probably represented that his father had been raising difficulties, and that the scheme for a complete edition rather took the wind out of Pavier's sails. Pavier was inclined to be obstinate, till at last a compromise was hit on, whereby the copy already collected was to be printed, but in such a manner that it could, if challenged, be passed off as old stock. Thus Johnson's *Merry Wives* and Butter's *King Lear* were to be set up with their names, of course, and the original dates 1602 and 1608 respectively. Pavier's own *Henry V* and *Oldcastle* should bear his initials and the dates of the earlier editions 1602 and 1600. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *The Merchant of Venice* should bear the original dates of 1600, but as they were derelict, there was no sense in calling attention to the fact that the latter had once been the property of Thomas Hayes deceased, for there was now a young Lawrence Hayes to be reckoned with. To put Pavier's initials on the titles would give the show away; but—happy thought—Roberts, whose devices were now in Jaggard's shop, had been the printer of *The Merchant of Venice* in any case. Let his name then go into the imprints—no matter if it made him out something of a thief! When this rather complicated bamboozle came to execution Isaac was guilty of a couple of blunders that rather

spoilt its beauty: he accidentally put the true date 1619 instead of 1602 on *The Merry Wives*, and he repeated the date 1608 (from *Lear*) in place of 1602 on *Henry V.* This, however, did not seriously matter: the device served its purpose. This was to throw dust in the eyes of laymen—especially the King's players—it was too transparent to impose on any one with a professional knowledge of printing. It did not take in Lawrence Hayes, who by registering his protest on 8 July has conveniently informed us of the approximate date of publication.

In the falsely dated plays Pavier's name is kept in the background, and for the rest there was nothing dishonest in the venture. He was called an Assistant on 14 July 1619, only a few days after the *disiecta membra* of his collection appeared, he served as Under Warden in 1622-3, and is credited to have died respectably of the plague a couple of years later. To the end he seems to have cherished the idea that he had a right to participate in any collection of Shakespeare's works, and probably regarded the Folio of 1623, which excluded *Pericles*, *Oldcastle*, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, as seriously incomplete, for when on 4 August 1626 his widow assigned his 'copies' to Masters Brewster and Birde they included, besides certain specified works of the author, 'Master Paviers right in Shakesperes plaies or any of them'. Perhaps 1664 saw his quietus.

The Folio of 1623 was printed, according to the statement of the colophon, 'at the Charges of W. Iaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley'. The names Jaggard and Blount reappear on the title-page, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the venture was mainly theirs. Unlike Smethwick and Aspley, neither Jaggard nor Blount held any effective rights in

previously published plays : on the other hand, all the new copyrights belonged to them. The historic entry was made on 8 November 1623, and runs : ' Master Blounte Isaak Iaggard.—Entred for their Copie vnder the hands of Master Doctor Worrall and Master Cole warden Master William Shakspeers Comedyes Histories, & Tragedyes soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men—vij^s. ' There is appended a list comprising eight comedies, namely, *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Twelfth Night*, and *The Winter's Tale* ; two histories, namely, ' The thirde parte of Henry y^e sixt ' and *Henry VIII* ; and six tragedies, namely, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, and *Cymbeline*. This entry *ipso facto* established a joint copyright by Blount and Jaggard in the plays, and there is no ground whatever for distinguishing between the interests held by the two venturers.

Upon the list there are certain observations to be made. In the first place, ' The thirde parte of Henry y^e sixt ' should properly be ' The First Part ', that being the only one that was wholly new. Next, *Anthony and Cleopatra* had been registered by Blount himself as early as 1608, a fact that had evidently been forgotten. Lastly, there are several conspicuous omissions from the list, namely, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Life and Death of King John*, and two parts (properly the second and third) of *Henry VI*. Now, in these four cases the Shakespearian plays were either revisions of, or at least were based upon, earlier printed pieces, namely, *The Taming of a Shrew*, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, *The First Part of the Contention*, and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, and it

is clear that for purposes of registration the publishers chose to treat them as identical.

On this count the collected Folio was to contain only sixteen new plays and twenty old, instead of the usual reckoning of twenty new and sixteen old. The old, moreover, fell into three categories, fourteen Good Quartos, two Bad Quartos (unsuperseded), and four Source Plays. The Bad Quartos were *The Merry Wives*, to which Johnson's title was legally sound, and *Henry V*, to the originally unregistered 'copy' of which Pavier had subsequently acquired a right which I believe to have been likewise technically good. We have previously seen that in three cases probably Good Quartos were put on the market to supersede Bad ones apparently without formality, but in these cases no formal rights had been acquired by the publishers of the earlier Bad texts. We are not, therefore, justified in assuming that the Folio publishers, even with Good texts in their hands, could treat Johnson and Pavier, however bad their wares, in a similarly cavalier manner: indeed, it was very likely just the existence of their valid rights that had prevented the earlier supersession of these two Bad Quartos. This being so, neither, I think, can we suppose that the Folio publishers were at liberty, after making use of Source Plays for registration purposes, to disregard the owners of the copyrights. The fact is that they were in a dilemma with regard to these pieces. If, for instance, they tried to register *The Shrew* they risked the owner of *A Shrew* objecting that Shakespeare's play was nothing but a barefaced piracy of another man's work; while, if they forwent registration they risked the owner refusing them permission to use his rights. Good Quartos, Bad Quartos, and Source Plays were, therefore, in this respect alike, and we must pass to consider where the rights in them lay.

Let us first examine the rights of the publishers themselves. To Smethwick belonged four 'copies', *A Shrew*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*, all by assignment from Ling in 1607, and all sound except the first which might have been challenged by Humphrey Lownes. William Aspley held the rights in two plays, *Much Ado* and *2 Henry IV*, both registered in 1600 by him jointly with Andrew Wise, who had disappeared a few years later. Three plays were derelict. Fisher having disappeared in 1602, his *Midsummer-Night's Dream* was as much at the disposal of the 1623 publishers as it had been in 1619 at that of Pavier, whose falsely dated reprint they actually used to print from. *The Troublesome Reign of King John* had never appeared in the Register, and the three editions had been published by three different stationers. Lastly, *Titus Andronicus* had originally been Danter's, and after his death both the booksellers he had employed endeavoured to appropriate it, but it is clear that in 1623 there were no rights in the play about which any one need trouble. Thus nine plays out of twenty are accounted for.

Outside the circle of the Folio syndicate the most important 'copy' holder was unquestionably Matthew Law, who owned *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *1 Henry IV*, all having been duly assigned to him in 1603 by Andrew Wise. But while Law's claim is perfectly regular, there is a curious anomaly about several of his editions, namely, that he appears in the imprints not as publisher but merely as bookseller. Apparently he was either impecunious or uninterested, and preferred that the printer should produce the books at his own risk. In either case it would account for his not using his position to claim a share in the Folio enterprise. Pavier, too, controlled three plays, though they were a shabby

lot. The pirated *Henry V* was 'made honest' by being 'sett over' to him in 1600 probably by Thomas Millington. From Millington, too, Pavier obtained his rights in *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* assigned in 1602 under the title of 'The first and Second parte of Henry the vj^t' [properly 2 and 3 *Henry VI*]. There remained five other plays in the hands of as many different stationers. Johnson owned the *Bad Merry Wives*; Nathaniel Butter *King Lear*; Laurence Hayes had successfully established his claim to his father's *Merchant of Venice*; Henry Walley, having survived his fellow-venturer Bonian, claimed *Troilus and Cressida*; and lastly Thomas Walkley had duly registered and published *Othello* as recently as 1621-2.

Thus there were eleven plays over which the publishers had no immediate control. How was it to be obtained? Twenty years ago I suggested that the rights conferred by registration were not of such an exclusive character as to interfere with the inclusion of individual plays in a collected edition, basing my argument on the fact that in no case that I could discover had transfer been obtained with a view to such inclusion. I do not think that this evidence has ever been disputed, and I still think it remarkable, but I am inclined to agree with Mr. Pollard, who insists on 'the inherent unreasonableness of permitting this particular breach of copyright', and I agree that it would at least be hazardous to argue on such a basis.¹ On the other hand, I doubt the pertinence of seeking remote channels by which rights may have been obtained. It stands to reason that if two stationers were in

¹ Since passing the proof of this sentence I have observed that the entry to Henry Seyle on 10 November 1632 of Fulke Greville's works includes 'The Tragedy of Mustapha (by assignment from Master Butter)'.

constant and friendly intercourse any little business arrangements of the sort would be the more easily negotiated. But to argue, as has been done, that because a printer or bookseller happened to have printed or sold a play for the publisher and 'copy' holder, he stood at some particular advantage in bargaining for the rights in the 'copy', is, I am convinced, seriously to misapprehend the conditions of the book trade at the time. Thus, when Mr. Pollard speaks of Pavier or Johnson or Butter as an 'ally of W. Jaggard' or suggests (howbeit with no easy conscience) that Law's rights may have been obtained through 'Aspley influence', I think he is allowing himself to be misled by that love of the 'human touch' which has often in other matters served him well. The fact is that the view that 'the four venturers who took the risks came together just because between them they were able to overcome any difficulties created by existing copy rights' suggests the wrong angle of approach. The possession of rights would doubtless place a stationer in an advantageous position if he wished to participate, but the real requirement was capital, and in the absence of this it was merely a question of making the best bargain he could.

There is, therefore, no reason to expect either to find all the 'copy' holders participating in the venture or to be able to trace any particular powers of coercion or persuasion in the hands of the actual publishers. On the other hand, there is reason to argue that Law, Butter, and the rest probably received some adequate return for their consent. Had the collection of 1623 been provided, like Jonson's, with special title-pages to the several plays, we should very likely know more about these arrangements than we do at present.

It is possible that a threat to boycott a play may

have been effective in bringing an obstinate 'copy' holder to heel. We know that *Troilus and Cressida* was originally intended to follow *Romeo and Juliet* among the Tragedies; it was then removed from its place and the title cancelled in the table of contents; only at the last moment was it readmitted to stand at the head of the same section. This was, of course, the play which was published in 1609 with an enigmatic preface from which the one clear point emerges that the 'grand possessors' objected to the publication. Mr. Pollard very pertinently observes that if the owners made themselves objectionable over the printing of a quarto, the 'copy' holder 'might be the more inclined to be disagreeable' when his consent was in turn required by those who 'wished to print a folio'. What is interesting to remark is that the 'grand possessors' were, of course, the King's men, and Walley's action—if correctly interpreted—implies that the players were interested in the Folio no less than the publishers.

It has been suggested that when Walkley published *Othello* at a time when preparations for the Folio must already have begun, he did so in virtue of some special arrangement with the syndicate. But if so one would have expected the printer of the Folio to make use of Walkley's edition, whereas he in fact printed from an independent manuscript. With this I should like to colligate the fact that in August 1623 the 'allowed booke' of the *Winter's Tale* was missing, and the players had to get an alternative manuscript licensed by Herbert and printed at the end of the Comedies. It is, of course, the merest speculation, but is it not just possible that we here have evidence of such a pilfering of playhouse manuscripts as to justify the players' appeal to the Privy Council, to which attention has lately been

directed, and for which I find it difficult to believe that the transactions of 1619 offered adequate occasion ?

The editing of the Folio is not a matter that falls within my purview, at least so far as textual considerations are concerned, but a few remarks are necessary on the preliminary matter. The material originally collected was designed to fill seven leaves, namely, a regular quire of six with the title bearing the engraved portrait inserted after the first. There is no doubt whatever as to this arrangement. We actually find a further sheet of two leaves, containing additional verses and a list of actors. Much argument has been expended upon the proper place of these leaves, from which I think it clearly emerges that they were not designed for any particular position, and that where they are inserted is a matter of individual taste. That they were an after-thought cannot be questioned ; and it is possible that the earliest copies were issued without them.

Mr. Pollard scouts the notion that the address 'To the great Variety of Readers' signed by Heminge and Condell was in reality written by Ben Jonson, remarking : 'That Ben Jonson had aught to do with the Folio beyond writing his two sets of verses there is no shred of evidence.' Of course, people's notions of evidence differ. The suggestion that Jonson wrote at least part of the address was originally made on the ground of style by Steevens : it was endorsed by M. Chastelain, who speaks with some authority, and has been lately argued afresh by other writers. We seem to be offered the choice of supposing that Ben had a hand both in the address and the epistle, or that they were the work of some one who had made a close study of his writings and consciously imitated his style. If we elect the latter alternative we shall be at

liberty to adopt the suggestion put forward by Sir Sidney Lee and Mr. Pollard that the actual author was Blount, who was certainly capable of the imitation, but they may fairly be asked to explain how Blount, writing in 1623, came to copy a 'Discovery' of Jonson's out of the younger Pliny, which was not printed till 1641.

Mr. Pollard's reason for denying the possibility of Ben Jonson's participation is that 'in view of his well-known comment on the alleged absence of blotted lines in Shakespeare's manuscript he can hardly have himself written the phrase that gave rise to it'. But in the address he is writing on behalf of the players and presumably putting into periods of his own the information they supplied, and I can see no reason why in his private commonplace-book he should not have recorded his dissent. Moreover, I think Mr. Pollard must have written without refreshing his memory of the 'well-known comment' when he mentioned 'the phrase that gave rise to it'. Jonson in his *Explorata* makes no allusion to the address, only to what 'I remember, the Players have often mentioned'. I see here no obstacle, rather confirmation.

I have already observed that while the Folio colophon states that the book was 'Printed at the Charges of W. Iaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley', the imprint runs: 'Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount.' Mr. Pollard has pointed out that as it stands this imprint cannot be correct, since Blount was not a printer. The difficulty was to find an expression that would exactly represent the facts. 'Printed by Isaac Iaggard for himself and Ed. Blount' would have been correct, but was not a current formula. Had Iaggard been pedantic he would no doubt have printed two variant imprints, one: 'Printed by Isaac Iaggard

and are to be sold by Ed. Blount', the other 'Printed by Isaac Iaggard for Ed. Blount'. But he was not. 'Printed for Isaac Iaggard and Ed. Blount' would have been correct, but would have passed over the printing of which Jaggard might reasonably be proud. Rather than that he incorrectly joined Blount with himself as printer-publisher.

Thus interpreted the imprint makes it clear that Jaggard and Blount were the main partners in the venture. They shared the rights in the new plays, they shared in the 'Charges', they were in effect the publishers, and Jaggard acted as printer and Blount as bookseller for the whole. The few rights in old plays possessed by Smethwick and Aspley enabled them to obtain an interest in the concern, and they bore some unspecified share of the 'Charges'; but it was probably small and their position that of sleeping partners.

I have so far avoided stressing the contradiction between the mention of 'W. Iaggard' in the colophon and 'Isaac Iaggard' in the imprint, which seems to have occasioned some confusion in the minds of critics. Isaac took up his freedom in 1613, but he does not seem to have been a master-printer before his father's death, and whatever printing he did must have been done in the latter's house. William made his last entry in the Register in October 1622, Isaac made his first and only entry—that of the Shakespeare plays—on 8 November 1623. Since it can hardly have been necessary for a publisher to submit 'copy' with his own hands, we are bound, I think, to assume that the entry was personal, and that Isaac was not merely acting on his father's behalf. William's name appears at the end of the Folio, Isaac's at the beginning. William's will was proved on 17 November 1623, and Isaac succeeded to the business. From these facts it

seems clear that William died before 8 November, that the printing of the body of the volume was complete before his death; and that the letterpress of the title-page was printed after. The plays, therefore, were completely printed before registration.

Against this may be quoted the inscription on the title-page of a copy once in the possession of Augustine Vincent, Rouge Croix, 'Ex dono Willi Jaggard Typographi. a°. 1623', which would seem to imply that William lived to see the completion of the work. But since, as Sir Sidney Lee has been careful to establish, the inscription is in Vincent's hand, no such conclusion follows. Of course, the herald would put the name of William Jaggard on the book his old friend had promised, even if he was aware that he had died before the volume was delivered.

The argument, therefore, that has been founded on the inscription, namely, that the Folio was completely printed and probably published before 17 November, perhaps before 8 November 1623, breaks down. So far as I know the only downward date on which we can rely is that afforded by the fact that the copy delivered to Bodley's Library was sent to the binder in Oxford on 17 February following. Clearly this would not necessitate a date before the end of January 1624, which, reckoning by the Marian year, would of course be possible. But this was not a popular reckoning, and I have a strong impression that unless it had been intended to issue the book before the end of November, the date 1624 would have been placed by anticipation on the title-page.

It is commonly said that the price at which the Folio was published was twenty shillings. The basis of the tradition is a statement by Steevens first printed in 1803: 'I have discovered, from an ancient MS. note in a copy of the folio of 1623,

belonging to Messieurs White, booksellers in Fleet Street, that the original price of this volume was—*one pound*.' Inscriptions of this sort are notoriously of little value, and the story that Steevens drew his information 'from the account-books of a seventeenth-century bookseller, which were extant in his day' appears to be pure invention. Nevertheless, the price alleged—if we take into account the engraved portrait and suppose it to apply to a bound copy—agrees sufficiently well with what we know of the cost of other books of the time and with the regulations governing price, to make it at least plausible, and in the absence of any contradictory evidence it may, I think, be accepted for the sake of argument.

In the account of the Folio that accompanies the Oxford facsimile we are told with a show of authority that the 'edition may fairly be conjectured to have consisted originally of six hundred copies', and that each of the three succeeding editions 'was as large as its predecessor'. There is no reasonable basis for such guesses. Mr. Pollard, admittedly on no surer grounds, thought it 'quite probable that not more than 500 copies of the First Folio were printed', but added that if any one can 'prove that 750 was the number, or even a thousand, the higher figures may be accepted, not only without incredulity but with pleasure'. I certainly do not claim to be able to prove anything of the sort, and I doubt whether any one will ever be able to do so, but I think I can produce one piece of genuine evidence in favour of the highest figure mentioned. The Folio contains thirty-six plays, which printed in quarto at a tester apiece would have cost 18s. If, therefore, a bound copy of the Folio cost 20s. we may fairly say that the whole collection was priced at the same rate as separate plays. Now,

in the case of most books, the rules of the company limited the size of an edition to 1,250 or 1,500 copies. This was done in the interest of the compositors, and we must suppose that the limit was fixed so as to leave the printer a reasonable return on his outlay and an insurance against risk. If, therefore, a publisher could sell 1,250 to 1,500 copies of a quarto he would no doubt be making a handsome profit, but not one which the authorities considered excessive. I am thus led to doubt whether the First Folio at £1 would have been a commercially attractive proposition unless the adventurers could hope to sell something approaching 1,000 copies. If only 500 were printed I fancy that the promoters must have looked for some substantial support from the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, and our debt to those noble brothers may be greater than we have hitherto suspected.

W. W. GREG.

THE EDITORS OF SHAKESPEARE FROM FIRST FOLIO TO MALONE

AT the very commencement of this paper, I feel that it is incumbent upon me to offer a couple of explanations. The first is due to the fact that the subject with which I have to deal to-night concerns only indirectly that which this series of lectures was designed to celebrate—the publication of the First Folio. I cannot claim that many of the editions of which I am to speak have any great value for the determination of Shakespeare's text ; their interest lies chiefly in the facts that they reflect the tastes of the times in which they were produced, that they show how Shakespeare was appreciated in the centuries following his own, and that they served as the foundation on which was raised the structure of nineteenth and twentieth century Shakespearian scholarship. In this way, my paper may be regarded as a prologue to the new editions of Shakespeare, and as an epilogue to the old. The second explanation concerns a more serious matter. Professor A. W. Pollard has devoted a considerable portion of his monumental volume on Shakespeare bibliography from the beginnings to 1685 to a study of the later folios and quartos ; many scholars, including at their head Sir Sidney Lee, have summarized the interest and the value of the several eighteenth-century editors and their efforts ; the editions of Pope and of Theobald alone have given Professor Lounsbury materials for a volume of over 500 pages. All that can be said in the space of an hour must, therefore, be no more than a mere sketch, and perhaps I may be pardoned if, instead of engaging

in what must inevitably prove an unprofitable re-summarizing of the often-summarized field of seventeenth and eighteenth century editing, I confine myself to certain specific aspects of the subject, a subject perhaps of secondary interest but of an extent truly tremendous. To catalogue once more the Theobalds and Warburtons and Johnsons seemed to me to be a mere waste of time ; I therefore frankly admit that this paper contains nothing but an indication of some general tendencies, with a slightly preciser examination of what have appeared to me the more interesting and neglected aspects of the subject.

I

The study of the later seventeenth and eighteenth century editing of Shakespeare can be undertaken satisfactorily only when full allowance is made for the various traditions operating on the minds of the editors. Obviously, of all these traditions, that provided by the First Folio itself is first in importance ; but it is necessary to observe that this importance of the First Folio was derived not wholly from the text which it provided. For centuries after its appearance it exercised a double influence, this double influence deeply affecting the history of the editing of Shakespeare. In the first place the First Folio was a publishers' venture, and as such it dominated the printing of the plays until the middle of the eighteenth century. Theobald has lately by several critics been vindicated as one of the finest of Shakespeare's early editors ; yet for many a year Theobald was uncertain whether he would be able to publish a text of his own. His *Shakespeare Restor'd* had appeared in 1726, but even in 1728 he was under the impression that he would be allowed to do no more than comment. 'Tho'

private property', he writes in this year, 'should so far stand in my way as to prevent me from putting out an edition of Shakespeare, yet some way or other, if I live, the public shall receive from my hand his whole works corrected with my best care and ability.' The reference in this letter is to Tonson, legal descendant of the Jaggards and others who put forth the First Folio just five years over a century before. It was only when Tonson himself entered into an agreement with the editor,¹ that Theobald was free to pursue his aims. To the last the Tonsons stuck to these real or imagined rights of theirs. Four years later than this we come upon the controversy of 1734/5, when a rival publisher, one R. Walker of the Shakespeare's Head, endeavoured to issue texts of Shakespeare in a cheap and popular form. Tonson attempted then by all means in his power to secure his monopoly. He got Chetwood, the prompter of the Theatre Royal, to issue a statement that the genuine issues were 'printed from copies made use of at the Theatres', and that Walker's were but 'pirated and maim'd editions'. Walker's reply was to the effect that Tonson's claim to ownership of Shakespeare was only pretended, and that his vaunted editions were marred 'by a great number of omissions, occasioned by carelessness or ignorance, and in all probability by both'. By this time certainly the monopoly was nearly over, but still printers of Shakespeare's works who were not in the ring could be regarded as, and contemptuously styled, mere pirates.

The exact tracing of what may be called the Folio publishing tradition cannot here be entered into at any length, although a general sketch of its development, as far as it can be traced, may be permitted. Of the total plays in the First Folio, sixteen, as

¹ In November 1731.

every one knows, were previously unprinted works, entered to Blount and Jaggard. How these two men divided their rights is not now known, but, as Dr. Greg hinted in his paper last week, we can trace to a certain extent the passing on of their claims. We find Blount's share being demitted to Robert Allot, and thence to Philip Chetwinde, the publisher of the Second Folio, through Allot's widow. It is, by the way, a thought conducive to many melancholy reflections, that Shakespeare's text for a century after his death was more than once dependent on the second choice of his printers' widows. In regard to Jaggard's share, Mr. Crompton Rhodes has recently put forward the theory that he had no rights in the copies as such, but preserved merely printing rights in the volume as a whole. While a certain amount may be said for this suggestion, it would appear, from further transactions, hardly to offer a correct explanation of the facts. About the date of the publication of the First Folio, William Jaggard died, and his son Isaac came into his property. On his death his widow, Dorothy, made over 'her share in Shakespeare's plays' to Thomas and Richard Cotes. The Cotes, meanwhile, had secured through Bird from Pavier the rights, not only in some of the apocryphal plays, but in *Henry V*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Hamlet* as well. As a large holder, therefore, it is but natural to find Thomas Cotes figuring as the printer of the Second Folio. His rights ultimately passed to Richard, and thence to Richard's widow, Ellen or Elianor. It is highly probable, I feel, that this Ellen Cotes was associated with Chetwinde in the publication of the Third Folio in 1663; it was, indeed, probably her influence that led to the inclusion in the second issue of that edition of the apocryphal dramas. In any case, this Ellen Cotes was able to leave in her will

the sixteen plays entered for the First Folio, or at least her rights in these, to John Martyn and Henry Herringman. These two apparently celebrated the acquirement of the rights by issuing a *Hamlet* in 1676, and, in 1679, by proposing a new edition of 'old *Shakespeare*'; but the partnership was broken by Martyn's death, and his half-share passed to Robert Scott. The Fourth Folio, printed in 1685, is associated with the names of Edward Brewster, R. Chiswell, R. Bentley, and H. Herringman. What exactly happened to Scott we do not know, but, as he was later associated with Chiswell, we may suspect that he, too, was interested in the venture. It has been supposed hitherto that Herringman was the chief, if not the only, holder of rights in this edition; that, in the words of Professor Pollard, Brewster and Chiswell 'were admitted by him rather to lessen his own risk than as having any claims such as had apparently produced the nucleus of Aspley, &c., in the first and second editions'. What I should suggest is that Herringman, having received, through a devious channel, the ancient rights of Jaggard, was met by those who claimed some interest in Shakespeare's plays from Robert Allot. It is noticeable, at any rate, that Heylin's *Cosmographie*, which had been one of Chetwinde's chief standbys, was in 1703 being published by E. Brewster, R. Chiswell, and three others. Neither Brewster nor Chiswell was a publisher of plays; rather were both on the side of the theological pamphlet; and it seems more easy to account for their presence in the one way than in the other. Bentley, it may be observed, may also have had some claim on two dramas, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*. From these men the tradition passed on in the eighteenth century to the Tonsons, and there, happily, it died. Men were at length freed to print, as they cared, the works of the Elizabethan poet-dramatist.

II

Besides this tradition, or series of traditions, partly connected with it in some respects, there must be taken into account another series more definitely affecting the text. It is well known that each of the later Folios was printed from that which immediately preceded it :

Each changing place with that which went before,
In sequent toil all forwards did contend.

This is the Folio textual tradition. There was also, however, in the earlier period between 1623 and 1660, the Quarto tradition, and later, in the period of the Restoration and after, there was the tradition of the acting texts and of the adaptations. There are not many Restoration quartos, but those that exist point to ancient prompt copies, and even in 1735, as I have already indicated, we find publishers boasting in no uncertain accents that theirs was the only true text as it came direct from the theatres. It may here be observed that these prompt quartos during the period of the Restoration were mostly in the hands of Bentley and Herringman, while the adaptations, evidently regarded as new plays, were issued by a variety of publishers unconcerned in the rights of Shakespeare's plays proper.

The three later Folios obviously challenge most attention here. Of these, however, the third and the fourth may be rapidly dismissed. There are alterations in them, but for the most part these alterations are confined to changes in spelling and to a few simple elucidations. It was the editor of the Fourth Folio who discovered that the strange formula 'God gidoden' was merely 'God gi' good e'en', and that the equally strange 'God buy ye' was simply 'God b' wi' ye', but beyond that his attempts at exegesis are primitive and rare. Nor need the

additions in the second issue of the Third Folio detain us. This is a problem of its own. The Second Folio, on the other hand, possesses many definite points of interest. In general, it would appear as if this Folio had not been sufficiently studied and analysed as a whole. It is not simply a reprint of the First Folio, as some critics have stated. It has many and serious changes throughout, nor are all or even most of those changes 'arbitrary and needless'. One thing is obvious to every reader of this Second Folio: that all these alterations have not been made with one single guiding principle. Spelling changes are numerous, but, naturally, unimportant. 'To' is made into 'too', 'loose' into 'lose', 'least' into 'lest', but the differences here between the First and the Second Folios are not so great as those between the Second and the Fourth. There are, also, quite a number of printer's errors; passages perfectly intelligible in the First Folio have been rendered ridiculous by careless printing and by careless proof-reading. These, however, may also be dismissed.

The first, I believe, to hazard a statement concerning the more serious alterations in this work was Mommsen; he determined that whoever did the main alterations was swayed by a desire of rendering the metrical cadence smoother and more regular. Still later, Alphonso Smith, writing in *Englische Studien* in 1902, decided that the unknown corrector was moved by a desire for regularizing the syntax. 'The changes in the Second Folio', says this writer, 'belong not to the sphere of exegesis proper, but to that of syntax.' A fairly exhaustive analysis of the differences between the First and Second Folio has driven me to disagree entirely with this statement; and it has also led me to disbelieve in any attempt to find a general guiding principle for

the changes in the Second Folio throughout. I emphasize the word 'throughout' because I feel that not one, but several, correctors were at work. The printer, evidently, had his finger in this particular pie; changes in spelling may be attributed to him; and it may have been the printer who was offended at Shakespeare's bad grammar. At any rate, syntactical changes, as far as I can discover, run right through the volume, comedies, histories, and tragedies. Plural subjects are given plural verbs; 'thous' are provided with the proper 'st' inflexions; 'whom' is substituted for 'who', and 'who' for 'whom'; stage-directions in Latin are given their proper endings, so that several characters, when leaving the stage, 'Exeunt' not 'Exit', just as they 'Manent' not 'Manet'. So far, then, Alphonso Smith is right; these syntactical changes go all through the Second Folio, appearing no more numerous in one play than in another. Metrical alterations also run through a good part of this Folio, several of them being exceedingly felicitous, but here they seem to be patchier than the alterations in syntax. *Romeo and Juliet* has over seventeen changes of this type, *Titus Andronicus* seven, *Henry VI, Part I*, twenty-two, *Part II* eleven, *Part III* eight, *The Winter's Tale* seven; none of the others that I have examined possess more than one or two. Apparently, there has here been some one working concernedly at certain plays, not confined to any one section of the volume. But neither metrical nor syntactical changes exhaust the many alterations in this Second Folio. Changes made for the purpose of elucidating the sense, sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful, and for the purpose of making clearer the actions of the characters on the stage, are over four times as many as those made for metrical and syntactical reasons taken

together. In the Second Folio we *do* first come upon an attempt to 'edit' Shakespeare. This attempt, however, was not a uniform one. It may be well here to summarize the changes made in the three sections of the volume. Among the comedies *Much Ado*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and *Twelfth Night* have been left practically untouched; all the rest have been fairly carefully worked over, and we note a tendency to pay particular attention to stage-directions and to classical names and references. In *Love's Labour's Lost* a whole sentence in Latin, nonsensical and meaningless in the First Folio, has been perfectly corrected,¹ while corrupted Roman and Greek names throughout have been amended. In all the comedies which have been touched, moreover, there is a plentiful sprinkling of fresh stage-directions, evidently from their form the additions of a spectator rather than of a prompter. Among the histories, only two plays have been seriously considered, *Richard II* and *Henry V*; there are no stage-directions added here, but we recognize the learned corrector of the comedies in the alterations made in the French scenes of *Henry V*. Coming to the tragedies, we find that five plays have been most carefully worked over, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*. The number of definite alterations rises to seventy-two in *Romeo* and is not less than thirty-four in *Troilus*. Here, again, there is to be traced the hand of the classical scholar. Hardly a single change is made in the stage-directions, badly as some cried out for alteration; but all through, Roman and Greek names are conjured out of the often meaningless collections

¹ iv. ii. 89: 'Facile precor gellida, quando pecas omnia' altered to 'Fauste, precor gelida quando pecus omne'.

of consonants and vowels as the First Folio presented them. 'Pantheon' is thus captured from 'Pathan', 'Acheron' from 'Acaron', 'Phoebe' from 'Thebe', and, as a final triumph, 'heart of Actium', from 'head of Action'.

My solution of the question of the Second Folio is, therefore, that, besides the meddling printer, there were three separate men who went over part of the text: one who altered five plays for metrical reasons, one who boldly attacked the comedies in order to improve their stage-directions but got no further than the comedies, and one who chose certain of the most popular plays for careful examination. This last man was a student of both Latin and Greek, a man moreover with a considerable sense of the fitness of things. As Mr. Dover Wilson has shown us that Heminge and Condell probably had no influence on the text of the First Folio, this man, anonymous as he is, must be regarded as Shakespeare's first editor.

III

There will be time here to touch only two of the minor late seventeenth-century texts of Shakespeare apart from the Folios. One of these is an adaptation and the other a prompt text; and the consideration of each may be taken as representing the rather interesting speculations which may be aroused by a study of the class to which it belongs.

The adaptation concerning which I wish to say a few words is that alteration of *Macbeth* which is often attributed to Sir William D'Avenant, and which certainly formed the basis of this author's later opera, made, apparently, mainly for the purpose of introducing those 'flyings' of the witches adored by audiences of that time and later.¹ The Shake-

¹ For convenience I have styled this 1673 text by the name of D'Avenant, although he probably had little to do with it.

speare play, whether altered or not we do not know, had been acted in 1663, but it was not printed till ten years later. A cursory examination of D'Avenant's adaptation would lead us to suppose that here we have nothing but an exceedingly crude reworking of the obviously corrupt Folio text. The first thing which gives us to pause is that in D'Avenant's play we have reproduced those songs of which the first lines only appear in the Folio, and which in the eighteenth century were found to belong to Middleton's *Witch*. Before the discovery of the latter play in 1778 it was naturally assumed that D'Avenant had himself written the words; after the discovery it was said merely that D'Avenant had incorporated Middleton's ditties into his work, the assumption being that the Restoration author had worked mainly from a Folio text, adding at his will, not only his own improvements, but portions of the other drama. A further examination of such passages as were left unaltered, however, shows clearly enough that no one single folio was before D'Avenant when he penned his play. Take a couple of test words. In 1. ii. 64 the reading of the First Folio is 'Colmes-Inch', that of the Second and Third 'Colmes-hill'; in the same scene, l. 14, the First Folio has 'Gallow-grosses', the Second and Third 'Gallow-glasses'. Now, in the first instance, D'Avenant follows the First Folio with 'Colmes-Inch', in the second he follows the later folios with 'Gallow-glasses'. These two examples, it may be observed, are only two out of a vast number of others, all of which go to prove the same point, that D'Avenant had before him an independent text of *Macbeth* when he wrote his drama. May it not then be asked: was this independent text not a prompt-copy dating back to the early seventeenth century, and, if so, may it not have

included the songs which appear in Middleton's *The Witch*? If this question is raised, there is at once formulated another query—who was the author of those songs? Were they by Middleton or by Shakespeare or by neither? Obviously they formed a part of *Macbeth* in 1623, and here, in D'Avenant's version, we have additional evidence of a slightly fuller infusion of *The Witch* elements in acting copies of the Shakespeare drama. The problem, possibly, will never definitely be settled, but there is one point I should like to add. In a volume at the Public Record Office I came across a short time ago an entry which, it seemed to me, might have some bearing on these supernatural songs and scenes. The entry is headed the 'Players peticon about y^e Witches'. It runs as follows:

'A Peticon of the Kings Players complayning of intermingling some passages of witches in old playes to y^e p^riudice of their designed Comedye of the Lancashire Witches, & desiring a prohibition of any other till their^s bee allowed & acted . . . July 20, 1634.'

It is difficult from this brief entry to make out exactly what the players desired; but it proves that attempts were made to 'intermingle' witch parts from diverse plays. Instead of assuming that Middleton revised Shakespeare's work, can another query not be formulated? Is it not possible that *The Witch* was adorned with portions taken from the *Macbeth* of Shakespeare, and that these portions were later incorporated into the manuscript text of the Middleton play? The idea may be a hazardous one, it almost implies an acceptance of the authenticity of the Hecate scenes, but there is for it at least a shadow of evidence in the D'Avenant *Macbeth*.

A somewhat similar interest is connected with the 1676 *Hamlet*. This was published, by Martyn and Herringman, as 'it is now Acted at his Highness the

Duke of York's Theatre'. In all certainty it is a prompt-copy. It obviously follows one of the quarto texts, but even from that there are over two hundred alterations. It is an amended version; but again a question forces itself upon us, for what theatre and for what performance? Ostensibly for a revival at the Duke's Theatre in the Restoration age. Internal evidence, however, would not seem wholly to justify this conclusion. The changes are of various kinds. We find attempts at simplification, as in the utilization of 'flourishing' for 'palmy' or 'unapt to' for 'niggard of', but there are besides a special series of alterations and omissions that give us to pause. In the very first scene 'by heaven' is missed out; 'Before my God, I might not this believe' is altered to 'I could not believe this'; 'for upon my life' appears as 'perhaps'; in the second scene 'O God! O God!' is omitted; 'Heaven' is omitted; even 'in faith' is omitted, and 'for God's love' is turned into 'pray'. It is certainly true that in the matter of profanity Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, was in 1663, to use the words of Dr. Boas, 'almost as meticulous as he had been thirty years previously'; but there does not seem to be any reason for supposing that an old allowed play should, on its revival in Restoration times, have been submitted to him at all.¹ It would certainly appear more natural to conclude that in the *Hamlet* of 1676 we have a prompt text which dates back in some features at least to the early seventeenth century. This being so, it obviously deserves careful critical attention, for under the mask of its alterations may

¹ There is no record in Herbert's notes that *Hamlet* was submitted to him. *Macbeth* was, probably because portions had been added to it (see J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, 1917)

lie genuine Shakespearian lineaments. Before leaving it, there is one other suggestion which might be made. D'Avenant, as is well known, was in 1660 granted by the Lord Chamberlain several plays of Shakespeare, including *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*. Nearly all the other old Globe and Blackfriars plays passed naturally to the Killegrew company of the King's Men. In view of the evidence afforded by the *Macbeth* opera and the 1676 *Hamlet* may it not be presumed that D'Avenant's claim to a monopoly in the acting of all these plays came from the fact that by some means or another he had secured manuscript prompt-copies of them at the closing of the theatres in 1642 ?

IV

From these prompt quartos we may now pass to the third stage of this subject. The first acknowledged editing of Shakespeare does not start till the eighteenth century. In regard to the work of the men who undertook this task from 1709 onwards to the days of Malone, one or two facts of peculiar interest may be noted. (1) The editors were not all scholars ; few of them made any claim whatsoever to scholarly attainments. They were great literary men who strove to put forward in a fitting guise the greatest poet of Britain. Rowe, the dramatist, Pope, the poet, Johnson, the man of letters, all may be condemned for carelessness and a lack of academic training ; but, I feel, we may be thankful that it was they and not the professors of the time who had to deal with Shakespeare's text. When we remember that the scholarly Bentley, in editing *Paradise Lost*, assumed that that work was full of errors owing to Milton's having had a careless amanuensis, we can well imagine what would have happened to poor

Hamlet had he attempted to deal with its difficulties. (2) We have to remember, in estimating the value of the work of these men, that there still existed the dominant three traditions of the late seventeenth century : (a) the literary-text tradition of the Folios, (b) the prompt-text tradition as in the 1676 *Hamlet*, of which Rowe made ample use, and (c) the adaptation tradition, providing in some cases obviously simpler readings than those of any of the Folios. All the men who first edited Shakespeare in the seventeenth century were men interested in the theatre, and it was but natural that they should prefer certain lines they had often heard spoken in the theatres to unfamiliar readings long since forgotten in the acting tradition. 'The eye', says Kant, 'brings with it what it sees', and for these seventeenth-century editors the ear brought with it phrases, words, whole lines, which came to be inserted in their texts. It is by such facts that we must explain countless of the readings in the editions of Rowe and of Pope.

In general, the seventeenth-century editors of Shakespeare have met with a fairly full meed of condemnation ; but that condemnation requires to be modified appreciably when we take into consideration the difficulties with which they had to contend. The imperfections in the knowledge and materials of the age are hardly now realizable. We, with our Cambridge texts and Furness Variorums, with our innumerable Arber's reprints and Old and New Shakespeare Society publications, with our whole wealth of two centuries of scholarship, must inevitably fail to appreciate the fact that these men had to build their structures without suitable site and without adequate materials. Knowledge of Elizabethan English had disappeared ; the works of Shakespeare's contemporaries were forgotten ; refer-

ences which to-day seem perfectly easy of explanation were then more than nonsense. Can we, in considering these things, fail to make allowance for those editors from Rowe to Malone who occasionally made a slip and an error? Books were hard to come by in these days; the era of British Museums and of public libraries had not yet begun. What a wealth of light does it not throw upon the investigations of Theobald, of the despised Theobald, when we learn that, up to 1726, the year in which he issued his epoch-making *Shakespeare Restor'd*, he had not been able to see, far less procure, a copy of the First Folio?

Nor were these seventeenth-century editors lazy, as some have made out. When we glance at Rowe's edition and see the way in which he has attempted with painstaking care to elucidate the corrupt readings of the Fourth Folio; when we turn to Pope and see the deliberate way in which he has set about his task of presenting Shakespeare in a clearer light to his contemporaries; when we see in Theobald's letters the intense enthusiasm and the laborious care which that editor devoted to his beloved author, we can only stand amazed at the exact application of which the poets and the dramatists were capable. Poets of the modern age are seldom born so.

And with this intense application these poets and dramatists combined what even now must be regarded as excellent and correct editorial aims. They were certainly misled by the contemporary curse of 'improving' old works; but even here it is surprising to see both how little they altered and how high they aspired. In the *Evening Post* for 5 May 1722, there is an advertisement which serves the double purpose of displaying the lack of knowledge of that time and the lofty ideals of at least one editor, none other than

Alexander Pope. 'The new edition of Shakespeare', it runs, 'being now in the press; this is to give notice, that if any person has any editions of the *Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Timon of Athens*, *King John*, and *Henry the Eighth*, printed before the year 1620'—What would we not give for those nowadays!—'and will communicate the same to J. Tonson, in the Strand, he shall receive any satisfaction required.' This, be it observed, was inserted before Pope had been startled into new activity by Theobald's attack; it need not be commented upon, for it tells its own story.

And Jennens: if there was one eighteenth-century editor who deserved later opprobrium it was Jennens; yet what more perfect picture of the enthusiastic scholar could be required than the following?

'An eminent surgeon called at his house one evening, and found him before a long table on which all the editions of his Author (Shakespeare) were kept open by the weight of wooden bars. He himself was hobbling from one book to another with as much labour as Gulliver moved to and fro before the keys of the Brobdingnagian harpsichord sixty feet in length.'¹

It cannot be denied, of course, that all these editors tampered with the words of Shakespeare. It was a widespread belief in that age that the actors had freely exercised their ingenuity on the text of the plays; it was recognized that not even the original quartos and folios contained the exact words of Shakespeare; and what, in these circumstances, more natural than to emend in places of difficulty and doubt? Some of the more hazardous suggestions it is, certainly, difficult to forgive. It is hard, for example, to find any kind word for

¹ Nichols, *Illustrations*, iii. 120-1.

Jennens' proposed extra speech for Banquo at II. i. 25 :

At your kind'st leisure.—

Those lookers into fate, that hail'd you *Cawdor* !

Did also hail you, King ! and I do trust,

Most worthy *Thane*, you would consent to accept

What your deserts would grace, when offered you.

It is hard to pardon the folly of a man like Charles Gildon for his glossary to Rowe's edition. Again one example will suffice. In *Cymbeline*, III. iv. 53, occurs the line 'whose Mother was her painting'. In Rowe's edition the capital M got inverted and Gildon read the second word as 'Wother'. Naturally such an unusual word had to be included in his glossary, and, after lengthy deliberation on the line—'whose Wother was her painting'—it duly appears: '*Wother*. Merit, Beauty, &c.'

Each editor, truly, in this was as bad as another. Pope decided that the famous line in *Macbeth*, 'the multitudinous seas incarnadine', was so poor that it must be an interpolation of the ignorant actors and inscribed it in the margin. He made innumerable silent changes in order to 'improve' the versification, and determined that Duncan's 'golden blood' was but 'goary blood' after all. Warburton's emendations are notorious, although perhaps not one is quite so foolish as his change of 'And prophecy' into 'Aunts prophesying'. The context will show the force of this brilliant emendation :

The night has been unruly : where we lay,

Our chimneys were blown down, and, as they say,

Lamentings heard i' the air, strange screams of death,

Aunts prophesying with accents terrible

Of dire combustion and confused events . . .

It was Hanmer who altered the fine line 'On chalic'd Flowres that lyes' into 'Each chalic'd flower

supplies', and the same editor printed II. i. 58 of *Macbeth* ['The very stones prate of my whereabouts'] as 'The very stones prate that we're about'. It was Dr. Johnson who determined that the line 'She is the hopeful lady of my earth' was not poetical enough, and wrote it as 'She is the hope and stay of my full years'.

Yes: assuredly each one of those editors was as bad as another; but, even when we sum up the delinquencies of all of them, we cannot let those delinquencies blind our eyes to the fact that those eighteenth-century editors did much to clarify Shakespeare's text. Rowe started the work by marking act and scene divisions, and by adding lists of characters. In places he used older texts to correct the obvious errors of the later Folios. Where, for example, the Fourth Folio text of *Romeo and Juliet* had the meaningless 'Cry me but aim',¹ an error derived from the running together of two words in the Second Folio as 'ayme', he restored 'Cry me but ay me'. In *Hamlet* he discerned that the 'horizons' of the later folios ought to be read as in the First Folio, 'oraisons'.² Pope carried on his work. He did not stop at advertising for non-extant quartos. He discovered many of the early texts, using those early texts to elucidate the corrupt lines of the Fourth Folio. He exercised, moreover, considerable care in the preparation of his version of Shakespeare, and many happy emendations are due to him. He it was who discovered that under the 'Pollax' or 'Poleaxe' of the Folio *Hamlet* lay concealed 'the sledded Polacks on the ice'.³ To Theobald also we owe a debt of gratitude. After an intelligent perusal of Heylin's *Cosmography* and of Holinshed he gave us the 'weird sisters' instead of the 'wayward' sisters. He suggested

¹ II. i. 10.

² III. i. 89.

³ I. i. 63.

‘ rebellion’s head ’ for the rather obscure ‘ rebellious dead ’. He discerned that the ‘ lacking waves ’ of *Antony and Cleopatra* were the ‘ lacquying waves ’.¹ Even Jennens has a few corrections which have been accepted by modern editors, and the debt of those modern editors to the monumental sagacity of Dr. Johnson and to the careful research of Capell and of Steevens is truly enormous.

The real failure of all the Rowes and the Popes and the Theobalds was that not one of them did the whole and complete work. This, perhaps, was too much to expect from any one man in that age, but we might have expected, for example, that Pope, when he discovered some early text, would have provided us at least with all or most of its readings. As a matter of fact, the history of the editing of Shakespeare’s text in the eighteenth century shows us that, although each editor worked conscientiously, he left fragments behind him which were swallowed up eagerly by one after another of the whole series of his followers. Probably they were all rather hasty ; but it must be recognized that the editing of Shakespeare is not an easy task at any time, and that the establishment of a final text could come only after the devoted work of a perfect army of successive scholars. One definite mistake, however, these editors did make. Each habitually relied upon the edition which had immediately preceded his own, with the result that even errors which he had noted crept into his own text. Thus, Theobald had attacked Pope in his *Shakespeare Restor’d* and in various articles to the press. He had satirized severely the poet-editor, and, in so doing, had raised a hornets’ nest about his ears. One would hardly have expected him to do aught else in his own edition but follow one of the folios, yet

¹ I. iv. 52.

it is amply evident that his text was set up from a corrected copy of his rival's latest edition. Only towards the end of the century do we find this labour-saving, but excessively reprehensible, device given over.

Out of the power directly of any one editor goes another cause for failure. No editor of Shakespeare, apparently, could escape being drawn into political, religious, and personal controversy. A note of recrimination runs through the prefaces of every single production. The most famous battle of this type was that which was waged between Pope and Theobald in the 'twenties and the 'thirties of the century, and which led ultimately to the latter's being labelled as the prince of the dunces, until Pope's wrath was turned upon the largely inoffensive Colley Cibber; but this was only one of many. Varied as the prefaces are, one set of statements, in one or another form, could certainly be discovered in each :

'The former editions of Shakespeare,' say all these editors, 'and particularly that recently published, have been exceedingly faulty. The editor of this has spared no pains to consult all the Folios and all the Quartos, and need not be accused of undue arrogance when he declares that here is established at last the pure text of Shakespeare.'

Such is the burden of a refrain chanted by every one of them, and chanted in a tone of triumph and of satirical bitterness. There is something of a querulous note in all these works, a querulous note which, except in the case of a few individuals, has happily been lost in modern scholarship. Most of us have learned now that, in the search for truth, personal emotions must be negated and destroyed.

Still, in spite of the many imperfections, in spite of the difficulties they worked under and the errors in their work, there was a definite though but

gradual advance. From Rowe may be said to have started a new era in Shakespearian scholarship. These men, of whom Rowe is the first, if in practice they failed, gave an ideal to their followers, so that what must seem strange to us is not their imperfections, but their scholarly aims and their solid achievement. Not till Malone, certainly, was there a full grasp of the problems involved, but these men, by their genuine love of Shakespeare, gave the model for the future. Each possibly worked under the delusion that he and he alone could give to the world a final text ; but is that a delusion confined to the eighteenth century and past ages ? It is, it seems to me, a cry which can be heard at all times, in our own days as in the days of Theobald. In their harking back to the early texts ; in their reading contemporary literature for the light it might throw on Shakespeare ; in their rescuing of the First Folio ; above all, in their enthusiasm for Shakespeare, in their recognition that he and he alone deserved first to be fully edited ; they did a service which we must regard.

There is no need now for any one to put forward the claims of the First Folio. Scholars and book-buyers know those only too well. There is no selling now of this volume because a reprint has come out. The First Folio is infinitely precious to us to-day, in more senses than one ; but, in prizing it, may we not be allowed to cast an eye of appreciation on those descendants of Heminge and Condell ;—the unknown corrector or correctors of the Second Folio and the long list of editors from Rowe to Malone ? With Malone, the editing of Shakespeare passed from the hands of the actors and the hands of the poets to the hands of the scholars, and a new era was begun, but who shall say that the scholars even in this have not profited from the efforts of their histrionic and poetic predecessors ?

ALLARDYCE NICOLL.

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